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RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA: THE UJAMAA MODEL

by

MEINRAD E. BANDA

(C)

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

DIVISION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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SPRING, 1978

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Rural Development in Tanzania: The UJAMAA Model submitted by Meinrad E. Banda in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Community Development

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Date Feb. 6. 78

ABSTRACT

Political and economic development in the rural areas is a major preoccupation of Tanzania. "Ujamaa" is a Tanzanian model of development which aims at introducing social, cultural, political and economic change in the rural areas in which about 93% of the population of Tanzania resides. The aim of this study is to describe "Ujamaa" as a model of development; to analyze critically its implementation problems; to compare ujamaa model with current models of community development; and to propose certain modifications on the basis of principles and theories of community development.

The discussion of Tanzania's historical background provides a framework of the development of "Ujamaa" model. The colonial model of rural transformation denied the peasants' participation in determining the nature of their development, and it was therefore opposed by the peasants. Their opposition to forced agricultural changes gave rise to political awareness among the peasants during the colonial era.

At independence Tanzania realised that the colonial model of rural transformation had a shortcoming. It attempted to establish political institutions at the village level to enable the peasants to participate in the process of their social, cultural, political and economic development. The creation of the Village Development Committees and the ten-cell house system gave the peasants political power to control their village matters while the role of the government was to facilitate the process of local decision-making.

During the post-independence era Tanzania has been preoccupied

by the development of "Ujamaa". The introduction of Ujamaa model has great impact on the life of the peasants. The rural population has been reorganized in ujamaa villages in response to the implementation of rural development policy. In order to effectively facilitate the development of ujamaa village's political autonomy, the government administration was decentralized in 1972 to provide regional autonomy. A decentralized decision-making structure has been set up; the Regional Development Committee, District Development Commitee and the Village Development Committee.

The study has also analyzed the implementation problems of the ujamaa model in comparison with the Chinese model of development. The study has identified four main problems; ideological orientation, ujamaa ideology and the concept of development, preparatory organization of the ujamaa village, and leadership at the village level.

Furthermore, the ujamaa model has been compared with current models of community development. This thesis indicates that both the ujamaa model and community development models are similar in their goals; that is to encourage the growth of local political autonomy which enables the local people to be responsible for their social, cultural, political and economic development.

The study concludes by making a number of recommendations of which two are the most important: (1) The development of local leadership should be emphasized to ensure self-reliance in local human resources, and (2) Politicization and democratization of the peasants should also be emphasized in order to ensure the growth of ujamaa.

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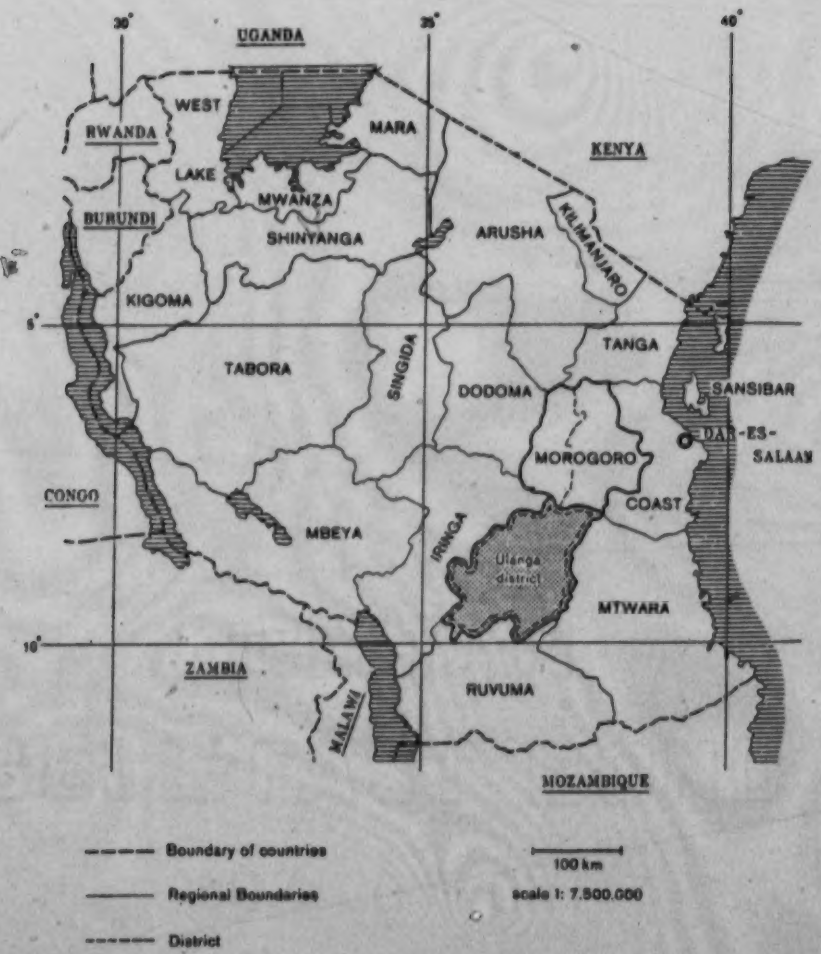
MAP 1: TANZANIA, WITH REGIONAL BOUNDARIES.



Source: Zanolli, N.V. (1971)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Emerging nations are always confronted with the problem of selecting a model for development. The models which have been developed in Western industrial societies and communist nations have always been attractive to the developing countries for it is claimed by the proponents of these models that their applicability is universal.

Faced with poverty, illiteracy and disease, a developing nation is eager to eliminate these basic problems. The eagerness to find solutions has often pushed the developing countries to import the Western models for development.

For the last three decades western theories of development have been applied in the developing nations, initially geared toward solving the three basic problems; poverty, illiteracy and disease. Experience has demonstrated that the advanced countries' models of development have brought about negative results for the basic problems have not been even alleviated. Poverty, for example, is still prevalent, posing a serious problem in many developing nations.

Tanzania, one of the developing nations, has instituted an innovative approach to development. Ujamaa is its model. It is an alternative model adapted in order to bring about new social, economic and political organization in modern Tanzania. The model aims to

attack the three basic problems; poverty, illiteracy and disease. Ujamaa means familyhood, it is the way of life which guides a traditional African extended family. It is the basis of African Socialism. In a tribal African society an extended family is the basic social and economic unit in which members live together, work together and share the essential goods.

In the process of buidling modern Tanzania, Ujamaa, which is a way of life, goes beyond an extended family unit. The ujamaa village, which consists of a number of extended family units, is guided by Ujamaa. Its members live and work together for the benefit of all. This model for development is not an adaptation of any of the Western or Eastern models associated with the agrarian and industrial revolutions.

> European Socialism was born of agrarian revolution and industrial revolution which followed it. The former created the "landed" and the "landless" classes in society; the latter produced the modern capitalist and industrial proletariat. . .
>
> The foundation and objective of African socialism is the extended family.[1]

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to describe "ujamaa" as a model of development-- its historical origin, its social, economic, cultural and political significance as well as its implications; to analyze critically the problems currently experienced in the implementation of the model; to propose certain modifications based on the principles and theories of community development; and to compare ujamaa model with current models of community development, including Chinese model of development.

Thesis Outline

Chapter II deals with the developing countries' concepts of social change which are based on theories of development from the industrialized Western countries; a review of the evolution of the concept of community development and current models of community development, including the Chinese model of development.

Chapter III is a description of Tanzania; its historical background; the colonial era and its impact on the social, cultural and politican organization of the people of Tanzania.

Chapter IV discusses Tanzania's post-independence era; the establishment of a one-party democratic state that insures grassroots policical participation; and a description of the ujamaa model of development.

Chapter V deals with the problems of implementation of the current ujamaa model. A comparison is made between Tanzania and China's experiences.

Chapter VI, the summary and conclusion, includes a comparison between the ujamaa model and community development models.

Method and Sources for the Study

This study has relied heavily on library research. Documentary and textual material produced by the Government of Tanzania and international agencies have been examined for basic data.

Journals, newspapers and magazines (including some from Tanzania available in the University of Alberta Libraries) have been other important sources of data. The (former) Tanzania Project's Library in the Department of Elementary Education, University of Alberta,

includes various publications relevant to the study and they have been used as sources of relevant data.

Chapter V has relied on four sources of data:

(a) The Arusha Declaration Ten Years After.[2] President Nyerere's assessment of the progress of Tanzania in its effort to realize the national goals of ujamaa.

(b) Operation Planned Villages in Rural Tanzania.[3] This is a comprehensive report on the mobilization of peasants into ujamaa villages in fulfillment of the TANU directive (October, 1973) that required all peasants to be resettled into ujamaa planned villages by October, 1974. The author is not aware of any other systematic documentation of the 1974 Village Operation in Tanzania.

The author, who was in Tanzania in 1974 and travelled extensively in the countryside during the operation, is of the opinion that the Mwapachu report is representative.

(c) A study of Mteteleka ujamaa village is one of the two villages which the writer identified as being systematically documented.

(d) Some reference is made to the Litoa ujamaa village whose origin is unique and which has reached the highest level of ujamaa ideals.

(e) Presidential Circular No. 1 in 1969,[4] was also one of the important sources of data.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited in its scope because most of the data has been of a secondary nature. Interviews and systematic observations of the current operations of ujamaa villages would provide a clearer picture of organizational problems encountered by the villagers, but due to a lack of time and financial support, it has been impossible for the author to go to Tanzania in order to obtain such first-hand information. The author's familiarity with Tanzania (being a Tanzanian) has facilitated the process of interpreting the literature as well as providing a critical analysis and final recommendations. But in this situation the author's own bias is inevitable.

Importance of the Study

The examination of the problems of implementation of ujamaa may stimulate critical thoughts among the regional and district party and government functionaries in terms of their role in assisting in the creation of ujamaa villages and also in establishing a sound social, economic and political organization in ujamaa villages.

Secondly, this study may become useful to the village party and government personnel who are working closely with the peasants. It may give them an opportunity to critically reflect on their own role in relation to their clients-peasants.

Thirdly, the 1974 Villages Operation stimulated the author's mind as he watched the whole process of peasant mobilization. Many questions came to mind and he had always wanted to react to the peasant movement of 1974. It has been a rewarding opportunity to be able to

present his thoughts and ideas on the process of creating ujamaa villages in modern Tanzania.

Clarification of Terms

Kiswahili:	A Bantu African Language which is a national language in Tanzania.
Ujamaa:	A Kiswahili word which means familyhood.
Ujamaa Village:	A village or community formed by groups of extended families whose members have voluntarily and collectively resolved to live and work together for the benefit of all.
Mjamaa: (Singular)	A member of ujamaa village.
Wajamaa: (Plural)	Members of ujamaa village.

Footnotes

1. Nyerere, J.K., Freedom and Unity, Oxford University Press, 1967 (pp.169-170)

2. Nyerere, J.K., The Arusha declaration ten years after. International Development Review, 1346 Connecticut Avenue.N.W. Washington D.C. 20036, U.S.A., 1971.

3. Mwapachu, J., Operation planned village in rural Tanzania: a revolutionary strategy for development. The African Review, 1971. Volume 6, 1.

4. Cliffe, L., et al (ed) Rural Cooperation in Tanzania, Tanzania Publishing House, 1975 (pp.27-34)

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CHANGE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE CHINESE MODEL

The Concept of Social Change

Social and economic change are prevalent concepts in developing countries. Associated with social change are other concepts like modernization, industrialization and urbanization, all of which have been developed in the Western industrialized societies. Various theories of social and economic change have been developed by the Western societies on the basis of these concepts.

As far as the developing countries are concerned, modernization means a

> ..."total" transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organization that characterize the "advanced" economically prosperous, and relatively politically stable nations of the Western World . . . . In fact, we may. . . . speak of the process as industrialization. Industrialization means the extensive use of inanimate sources of power for economic production, and all that entails by way of organization, transportation, and communication.[1]

Moore's notion of modernization is based on three assumptions; firstly, that from the economic, social and cultural development point of view most of the Third World countries are predominantly "traditional or pre-modern", secondly, that the Western world concepts and theories of modernization should be applied in order to promote development (or social, economic, cultural and political change); and thirdly, that Western models of modernization and their associated organiza-

tional structure have universal applicability. "Modernization is thus held to be universal in impact--and highly predictable with regard to end product."[2]

Economic theories have been the major instrument for social, cultural and economic change in the Third World. The underlying theories of modernization (or social and economic change) are presented in what is called "stage theory". The chief proponents of the stage theory are Marx, Adam Smith, Rostow, Lewis and Lerner.

> At one extreme, Adam Smith referred to sequence of hunting, pastoral, agricultural, commercial and manufacturing stages. At the other Karl Marx. . . stages of feudalism, capitalism and socialism. Most recently Walt Rastow attempted to generalize "the sweep of modern economic history" in a set of stages of growth, designated as follows: the traditional society; the preconditions for take off; the drive to maturity; the age of high mass consumption.[3]

What the stage theory states is that any given society must pass through the developmental sequence from traditional to modern stages. What is essential in this developmental process is the economic growth accompanied by specific characteristics in terms of cultural values, social, political and economic institutions.

The stage theory has an obvious weakness with regard to its global applicability. For example, Marx' stages of development are materialistic, historical, sociological, economic and even broader. However, Marx' conception of development was based on England's social economic and political experience in his time. No society, so far, is known to have strictly followed Marx' stages of development. Historically, societies have varied socio-economic and political backgrounds which are also influenced by ecological factors as well as geographical location. Different forms of social and economic

organizations are emerging today. Rostow's notion of development is narrow and individualistic; it is based on Western world conditions and therefore cannot be duplicated in Third World countries because of the differences which exist between these two worlds.

For the last three decades the Western models of development have been applied in the process of modernization in the developing countries. Such models have actually raised more questions and problems than answers or solutions to the social, economic and political situations in the developing countries.

With the application of western models of modernization, three attempts have been made to provide social and economic development After World War II, development was regarded as a "technical problem". The Marshall Plan in Europe was successful because industrial ideas and techniques were efficiently employed. The replication of such ideas and techniques in the developing countries seemed to be appropriate. Massive injections of capital was the solution to the development problems. Capital-intensive as opposed to labour-intensive methods of production were predominant. As the industrial process concentrated in the urban areas, these areas became the focus of migrants from the rural, traditional and under-developed areas. Theoretically, the urban-industrial centres were places with employment opportunities, a comparatively high standard of living and better housing, education and medical facilities. Industrialization and urbanization brought about social problems such as unemployment, inadequate housing, educational and medical facilities for the fast-growing population in the urban areas. The rural-

traditional areas were further underdeveloped for their resources -- a greater portion of agricultural investable surplus was consumed in the tertiary sector or urban centres.

Manpower was then thought to be the missing factor in the capital based industrialization. Importation of skilled personnel from the industrialized societies became necessary. The emphasis was then on technical skills and expertise in various specialized fields. So far, economic development, social and cultural change has not taken place. Foreign experts came from societies with different social, economic and political systems, as well as ecological conditions. Their knowledge and skills relevant to the western societies were incompatible with the social and ecological conditions of the developing countries. Disease, poverty and ignorance still were outstanding problems in spite of the application of western knowledge and skills.

A third attempt was devised with emphasis on institution-building.

> This school of thinking declared that trained people be permanent. Commitments to development are usually made on building roads, factories or such. What is needed more than programs or projects are human agencies to devise and carry out projects. Therefore the emphasis shifted from brick or mortar to education and training. Ambitious trading of people between the Third World and Western countries were developed. . . Particular attention was given to three institutions - education, administration (public and business) and business.[4]

The emphasis on education and training again did not solve the economic problems. What emerged out of this was an elite minority ruling class, and what is known as social and economic dualism. Today the Third World countries are still confronted with economic

and social problems. The situation becomes even worse because the vast majority of people are still faced with the basic problems of poverty, disease and ignorance. The major problem lies within the concept of development itself. The failure of development theories in the Third World is due to the western definition of development which is based merely on the economic aspect.

> The reason for our failure to understand the real issue of development is that until recently the countries of the Third World have not been able--or have not been permitted--to tell others what they think development is. By now, however, they seem to have found several ways to get their message across.[5]

A number of Heads of State in the Third World are now attempting to define development in their own terms.

> When Fidel Castro assumes certain postures, he is saying that the construction of a new type of socialism is more important to Cuba than the rapid diversification of agriculture or the quick build-up of heavy industry. Similarly, when Julius Nyerere urges Tanzanians to practice self-reliance in their effort to modernize the nation (on the basis of Ujamaa principles), he is implying that for his citizen (Ujamaa) and self-reliance (are) more important than economic success. And when Eduardo Frie pleads for discipline in walking the tight rope between socialism and capitalism he is telling the world that Chile sees a "third way" of constructing a modern society.[6]

The Concept of Community Development

Historically, the concept of community development derives from two roots, social work and education.

> Community development is not, as it is sometimes suggested, a new phenomenon that started in the 1950's: it is an outgrowth of earlier experiments and concepts in education and social work, both of which have much influenced contemporary thought and practice.[7]

In the British Colonies the concept of community development emerged in 1925. Faced with the problems of illiteracy and poor conditions in the colonies, the British Colonial Authority devised an education policy whose objectives were "to promote the advancement of the whole community."[8] This "Mass Educational Policy" as it was known in the 1920's, was mainly intended to improve agriculture, native industry and health; and the training of local personnel to carry out this process. Education was an instrumental approach to solving mainly the economic problems in the poverty-stricken colonies.

As time went on, the concept of mass education took on another form altogether. For example, in 1948, the Colonial Policy on Mass Education was redefined as a process of community development. Later on in 1954 a new Colonial policy came out with a concept of community development as:

> A movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and, if possible, on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement. (Community development) embraces all forms of betterment. . . (Colonial office, 1954, Appendix D, p. 49)[9]

This new definition of mass education based on the concept of community development had political implication in the colonies.

The colonial concept of community development was much influenced by the political atmosphere in the colonies in the 1950's particularly in Africa. Demand for indigenous political autonomy was prevalent in most of the British colonies at that time.

Batten, writing about community development in tropical countries in the late 1950's was not willing to commit himself to a particular definition of community development. In his book, published in 1957, he discusses mainly the different kinds of community development work.

> The variety is so great that one may well feel that the only thing that community agencies have in common is that all of them are in some way trying to influence people's ideas, attitudes and behavior for the better.10

On the other hand, Batten describes the role of an agency in terms of three objectives which are implicitly a definition of community development which is closely related to the British colonial notion at that time. Community development agencies in the tropical areas tried to achieve three objectives:

> (Firstly) by stimulating people to decide exactly what they want, and then helping them to get it.
> (Secondly) by introducing people to new kinds of satisfactions and ways of realizing them, and by equipping people to make wise choices between alternative satisfactions.
> (Thirdly) by maintaining existing groups or developing new ones to ensure that each individual has opportunities of developing his personalities and achieving status and significance in his relationships with others.11

The UNO emerged significantly in the community development field in the 1940's. For example, in 1948 the Organization assigned community development consultants to its member states. It is estimated that by 1966 the UNO had 61 community development specialists working in about 29 countries. The UNO's role in community development was even more important in the developing countries

during and after the colonial era. Historically the UNO's definition of community development is based on the British colonial one. When the British colonial policy of education was reformulated to include the concept of community development, the United Nations also placed emphasis "on community development as essentially an educational process." (United Nations, 1954:3)[12]

In subsequent years the UNO community development practice was essentially based on the British colonial meaning of community development but placed more emphasis on the role of the national government in community development work. In 1956 the United Nations' definition of Community Development included

> The process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of government authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. (UNO, 1956)[13]

Essentially this definition stresses economic advancement which reflects the conditions of poverty in the Third World countries.

Sanders' conception of community development is broader and is based on three major categories, each emphasizing a particular aspect of community development work.

> Some social scientists think of community development as a process and focus upon the sequences through which communities... go as they move from a pre-industrial to an industrial type or a similar kind of overall change: others who are action rather than research-oriented think of community development as a method to be used in moving toward their objectives... They focus upon accomplishments rather than upon sequences. With a third grouping community development means a Program... The stress here is upon activities as set forth in the program. A fourth view... community development is a movement.[14]

The three different meanings of community development are, perhaps only in terms of theoretical analysis. However, in practice none of them can be applied in isolation. This is true in the situation of the developing countries whose basic problems (ignorance, disease and poverty) are still prevalent among the underprivileged masses.

The contemporary conceptualization of community development stresses an additional set of non-material aspects of community development. Concepts such as citizen participation, power to the people, consciousness-raising, self-determination, self-reliance, critical consciousness, cultural emancipation, have much influenced the contemporary definition. The concepts themselves have emerged in response to new social, economic, political and cultural demands. At the present time community development needs workers with special skills, techniques and attitudes to enable them to provide assistance to a community in need. As far as the people of the community are concerned, they also need specific skills, attitudes, behavior and knowledge to enable them to work co-operatively for a common goal. Biddle and Biddle conceptualize

> . . .community development (as) an educational process. . . it is something of spirit not something material. It must reach into the deep cultural patterns of people, examining them and testing them as principles of faith. . . it is a building within the hearts and minds of men. . .[15]

Community development deals with the teaching of basic things "in terms of attitudes, skills to work with people, and competence for living."[16]

Models of Community Development

Rothman[17] presents three models of community organization and practice. His models are essentially based on various forms of community organization activities. On the other hand, Rothman's three models are not exhaustive but rather reflect merely the prominent forms of community activities in our time. These models are known as A,B, and C or locality development, social planning and social action respectively.

> Model A, locality development, presupposes that community change may be pursued optimally through broad participation of a wide spectrum of people at the local level in goal determination and action.[18]

This is community development work which also places emphasis on democratic procedure, the spirit of self-help, spontaneous co-operation. the growth of local leadership, and practices of self-reliance.

Model B, the social planning approach, is heavily dependent on a technical process. Community problems are tackled by the use of technical expertise. Social change is systematically planned, implemented and controlled. Public input in the process of planning community activities is normally minimal, if not totally absent. "By and large, the concern here is with establishing, arranging and delivering goods and services to people who need them."[19]

Model C, social action approach--whose typical representative would be a "Saul D. Alinsky" type of organization for action--stresses confrontation, conflict or contest.[20] This appraoch has been successfully applied by disadvantaged groups like the Blacks in their civil rights demands in the U.S.A. This approach challenges the power

structure and decision-making mechanism, social justice and the democratic machinery.

The distinction between these models is only relevant for analytical purposes. In reality the application of these models overlaps. Depending upon time, place and circumstance different combinations of these models can be applied to single cases. For example, the use of Model A, at some stage in the process of carrying out community activities, planning becomes inevitable. Social planners are normally consulted. A social action approach can also be combined with Model A if the members of the community feel that confrontation is the only alternative open to enable them to be heard. On the other hand, it becomes apparent that in any given situation one model is normally predominant.

The concept of community development varies according to different professions, social scientists and even national leaders. Sanders has attempted to present four orientations of community development as a process, as a method, as a program, and as a movement which are discussed by Cary.[21]

Community Development as a Process

According to this view, community development proceeds from one stage to the next; it involves a progression of changes in terms of specific criteria. It is this neutral, scientific concept, subject to fairly precise definition and measurement that is expressed chiefly in social relations. The direction of change leads mainly to a state in which the people themselves make decisions about matters of

common concern, to a state in which co-operation predominates among them. Participation in community affairs is a concern of all individuals instead of a few, a state of being able to maximize community resources. The emphasis here is upon what happens to people psychologically and socially.

Community development is chiefly concerned with this view of development. Several definitions of community development from different professions are based on this view. Perhaps representative definitions in support of this view of community development are those given by J.D. Mezirow and Richard W. Paston, Mezirow defines community development process as

> . . .planned and organized effort to assist individuals to acquire attitudes, skills, and concepts required for their democratic participation in the effective solution of as wide as possible a range of community problems in an order of priority determined by their increasing levels of competence.[22]

On the other hand, Poston perceives community development as

> . . .an organized educational process which deals comprehensively with the community in its entirely, and with all of the various functions of community life as integrated parts of the whole. Thus the ultimate goal of community development is to help evolve through a process of organized study, planning and action, a physical and social environment that is best suited to the maximum growth, development and happiness of human beings as individuals and as productive members of their society.[23]

The UNO definition of community development has been indicated previously.

Community Development as a Method

Some view community development as a means to an end, a way of working so that some goal is attained. Other methods (such as change

by degree or fiat; by use of differential rewards; by formal education) may be supplementary to the community development method, which seeks to carry through the stages suggested under the process in order that the will of those using this method (national government, private welfare agency, or local people themselves) may be carried out. The process is guided for a particular purpose, which may prove "harmful" or"helpful" to the local community, depending upon the goal in view and the criteria of the one passing judgement. The emphasis is upon some end. Central planners, economic developers, and those representing some one professional field may look upon community development in terms of whether it will or will not help them achieve the concrete, material goals they have in mind. Method and process are in fact related terms. Using community development as means to achieve a certain goal involves a process which is de-emphasized because the concrete material goals become apparently more important.

Community Development as a Program

When one adds to the method, which is a set of procedures, some content--such as a list of activities--one moves toward a community development program. By carrying out the procedures, the activities are supposedly accomplished. When the program is highly formalized, as in many five-year plans, the focus sometimes tends to be upon the program rather than upon what is happening to the people involved in the program. It is as a program that community development comes into contact with subject-matter specialities such as health, welfare,

agriculture, industry, recreation, and the like. The emphasis is upon accomplishing sets of activities, which can be quantified and reported.

Arthur Dunham who sees community development as "organized efforts to improve the conditions of community life, and the capacity for community integration and self-direction" states four basic elements in such efforts: (1) a planned program, (2) encouragement of self-help, (3) technical assistance, which may include personnel, equipment, and supplies; (4) integration of various specialities for the help of the community.[24]

Community development involves action at one stage or another. Whether community development as a process or as a method is applied, it becomes imperative that at a certain stage of community development process, a list of activities be compiled based on the goals or objectives already set.

Community Development as a Movement

For some, community development becomes a crusade, a cause to which they become deeply committed. It is not neutral, like a process, but carries an emotional charge. It is dedicated to progress as a philosophical and not a scientific concept, since progress must be viewed with reference to values and goals that differ under different political and social systems. Community development as a movement tends to become institutionalized, building up its own organizational structure, accepted procedures, and professional practitioners. It stresses the idea of community development as

interpreted by its devotees and has its charismatic leaders who can enunciate its ideology in forthright terms.

This is a different form of community development. It bears characteristics that cannot be combined with those of the other three models. First of all, it is dedicated to progress as a philosophy and furthermore, the concept of progress may be interpreted according to the values and goals which are based on the particular political and social ideology of a society.

Sanders' analysis of community development practice implicitly emphasizes the coexistence of different models of community development in response to the varied needs, time, and place and society's social, cultural, economic and political conditions. It allows flexibility in defining the concept of community development, again according to the circumstances of a situation. Such flexibility also allows the emergence of new models of community development practice.

Warren's approach to community development or social change, for that matter, is based on the concepts of "truth" and "love". He uses the two terms in a special sense:

> The word "truth"--the conviction that we somehow represent the fundamental order of things in calling for the changes that we propose to bring to the social order.
> (On the other hand, the word "love" is used) in the appreciative sense, as a relationship of infinite appreciation and respect. . . it constitutes roughly a commitment to the infinite value of each human being. . . that human beings are to be considered as ends, rather than merely means.[25]

The concepts of "truth" and "love" as applied here present a conflict phenomenon as far as social change or community development practice are concerned. They represent two kinds of change process, natural and purposive. Indeed, they cannot be applied simultaneously in a

given instance.

Again, Warren, in discussing specifically "change as a 'natural' process, and purposive change" he begins to raising two crucial questions: "Can change be channelled? Or, perhaps more precisely, what is the relationship between the process of social change and the attempt to influence this process by deliberate intervention?"[26]

Warren relates truth and love concepts to purposive social change,

> . . . relating truth to the specific goals that the change agent desires, but on which other people may have deep disagreements, and relating love to the contrary value that most of us acknowledge, a value that admonishes us not to impose our truth on others in these deep interest conflicts, out of respect for their autonomous human beings.[27]

Relating truth and love to social change, as we have seen here, gives rise to a situation of interest or value conflicts; interest and values of the clients and those of the change agent. For Warren the solution to this problem is not for the two parties to reach an agreement nor a compromise.

> We must confront head on the problem of change situations where there is abiding opposition, and where not everyone can be satisfied. We can neither take nor even allow the way of pushing one's own value in total disregard of other values, either one's own or others' nor can we take the way of failing to cope rapidly and radically with the problems that beset us merely because we cannot reach perfect agreement as to how we proceed.[28]

Warren introduces the concept of "dynamic pluralism" as a mechanism through which change problems, as perceived here, can be resolved. Dynamic pluralism is a creative confrontation, it emphasizes differences and disagreement. It is a mechanism that

> . . . strengthens the ground rules of the process of opposition, channelling...this opposition, keeping it within the bounds of an acceptable and tolerable confrontation rather than letting it engulf all other values and all other parties . . . We need a mechanism which will fall short of satisfying every party to every controversy, but which will assure the right of the dissatisfied to be heard and to continue their efforts to persuade the rest of us.[29]

The truth and love model for social change is based on the moral aspect. The model has some relevance to the situation in the Third World in which the concept of modernization is geared towards introducing social, economic, cultural and political change, particularly in the traditional sector. A social or educational agent who works with the peasantry, is apparently confronted with a situation of interest or value conflict. Such a conflict has often led to failures in many rural projects. These failures have always been attributed to the ignorance, suspicions, conservatism and illiteracy of the peasants. These are said to be the major characteristics which act as a deterrent to the peasants' acceptance of new ideas, values, attitudes and behaviors that are presented to them by the change agent. Studies on development carried out by Paulo Freire,[30] Dennis Goulet[31] and others, reveal the importance of the relationship that should emerge between the change agent and the change target or peasantry. It becomes important for the change agent to appreciate the underlying cultural values of the peasantry in order to establish a relationship for a dialogue.

> Behind the practice of agricultural extension, (there is) an (implicitly) ideology of paternalism, social control, and non-reciprocity between experts and "helpees". If, on the other hand one is to adopt a method which fosters dialogue and reciprocity, one must first be ideologically committed to equality. . . (any change agent) must engage in dialogue wherein they may learn together with the peasants, how to apply their common partial knowledge to the totality of the problematized rural situation.[32]

Speaking of the role of an educator as a social agent, Freire emphasizes that

> The mark of a successful educator is not skill in persuasion. . . but the ability to dialogue with the educatees in a mode of reciprocity . . . And rural extension fails as communication because it violates the dialective of reciprocity; indeed no change agent or technical expert has the right to impose personal options on others.[33]

The two terms "dialogue" and "reciprocity" become crucial in the relationship between the change agent and the "helpee". In such a dialogue each participant presents his point of view and he must be heard whether it is in disagreement or not. Furthermore, there is an opportunity for participants to learn from each other. What is crucial here is for each participant to attempt to persuade and convince the other.

This situation does not imply the once common view of "leave them alone". The poor living conditions among the peasants in the Third World countries must be improved. The change agents in these countries have indeed a moral obligation to make sure that such social and economic problems are solved. But what is most crucial is the provision of assistance so that the process of transformation is controlled by the peasants themselves. They must develop themselves but with assistance from the change agents.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the application of the Western countries' models in the developing countries has evidently failed to provide the desired development. Many developing countries are now searching for alternatives. China is one of the developing countries which has completely abondoned the Western models of social change and has adapted its own model to create a modern China. Tanzania has learned much from the Chinese model of social change in its efforts to transform the rural sector. Nyerere, the initiator of the ujamaa model of development has always been impressed with the Chinese model of rural transformation. His ideas and writings on the ujamma model have perhaps been stimulated by experiences of the Chinese in transforming the rural masses.

The following section discusses the Chinese rural transformation. In Chapter V some reference will be made to this model in terms of comparison between the Tanzanian and the Chinese models.

A Commune Focus of Transformation in Modern China

Historical Background

Modern Chinese society has a long and complicated history in terms of its cultural, social and political aspects. However in order to understand the present social, political and economic organization of modern China, a general understanding of China's historical background is important.

The history of China contains two important phases, Classical China and Modern China. Classical China was under the feudal

monarchical system which was heavily influenced by the great teachings of Confucius. The Confucian philosophy of life was based on honesty, integrity, frugality, self-control, humanism and inward-looking. The social, political and economic organization was based upon the extended family which Confucius referred to as a miniature state. For example, the family played an important part in the process of socialization. Parents and other adults in the extended family were responsible for transmission of traditional morality which included "loyalty and filial piety, humanity, love, faithfulness and duty, harmony and peace."[34] Classical China, whose civilization was over 4,000 years old, maintained confucial teachings and the traditional morality through this period.

Chinese Cultural Components

Classical China consisted of two distinctive cultural components, the folk culture and the high culture. "The basic unit of Chinese folk culture - its minimal community - the peasant village and its surroundings of cultivated plants."[35] The peasants were looked upon as traditional, parochial and immobile, whose existence depended on the land. "Everywhere, (the Chinese peasant village was) an inward-looking, self-regulating folk society based on intensive hoe agriculture that presented the imperial government with a target for taxation only, not for administration or political organization."[36] The high culture belonged to the literate class--the gentry scholars and imperial bureaucrats. The elite culture claimed to be cosmopolitan and representative of the Chinese culture. "What makes the folk

communities of China part of Chinese civilization is not a shared inventory of traits, but a type of connection with the high culture."[37]

The high class or elite lived off the peasants' production, controlled land and the political order. As peasants became tenants to the land lords and mere tax payers, their social, economic and political conditions were subjected to the landlord and Emperor's control and exploitation. The exploitive relationship that existed between the elite and the peasants, and the harshness and brutality of imperial rule, drove the Chinese peasants into the greatest mass uprisings ever known in the history of mankind. The Chinese peasants' discontent and struggle against the oppressing exploitation by the elite class is a historical phenomenon which began in the early 1800s.

China's Contact With the West

The most significant contact with the western world by the Chinese took place in 1839, a year in which Britain attempted to establish full-scale trade relations with China. It is said that it was "the great turning point in China between old and new."[38] Western values, such as individualism, self-initiative and personal autonomy, competition, materialism--happiness based on wealth, were introduced to China by westerners in pursuit of imperialism, trade, and economic expansion.

The western values were accepted and adopted mainly by the bourgeois class while the vast majority, particularly the peasants, continued to live in traditional ways. The overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911 is another important turning point in modern China.

it marked the end of the imperial era and foreign influence on China's affairs.

Modern China: The Emergence of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)

The elimination of imperial power and foreign influence provided the new regime (Kuomintang, 1944-1949) with the opportunity to carry out political, economic and social reforms. The issue of land reform became crucial because the peasants, who formed the vast majority of the Chinese population, depended on land for their livelihood. Following the Soviet political and economic system, the Kuomintang regime could not introduce the kind of reforms that were expected by the peasants (particularly in relation to land) as well as by other party officials, inlduding Mao Tse-tung. The Soviet model was described as having centralized political power and economic planning. Economic, as opposed to moral incentives, were the basis of development or success. Mao and his supporters stood against the Soviet model, for such a model, they argued, would not be carried out in the best interests of the peasants who had been oppressed and made powerless. Mao wanted peasants to have access to land control and in order to do so, land reform was essential.

This division in ideology gave rise to the Kuomintang Party which separated into two factions, the Leftists and the Rightists. The Leftists, led by Mao, claimed to be the supporters of true Marxist-Leninist ideology, while the Rightists were described as taking the capitalistic road which was a distortion of socialism by Stalin and Khrushchev. With this split in ideology, the Chinese

Communist Part, led by Mao, was formed in 1921.

Mao's Contact with Peasants

Mao was concerned with the conditions of the peasants and he and his party resolved to organize them so that their deplorable, powerless, and hopeless conditions would be eliminated. As Wheelwright points out:

> The Maoist approach, like that of any sociologists, is to discover why the masses have lost the power to direct their own lives in society. Why even in collectivist societies, it is possible for man to be separated from his products, as a result of the centralized political and bureaucractic control of production engendered by a technological society in which life is regulated by machines.[39]

When Mao joined the rural life in early 1920 he wanted to help the peasants restore their confidence and control over their own lives. He also wanted the peasants to be aware of the danger of direct importation of western concepts of development which were heavily dependent on technology. Modern technology is geared to completely take over the work done by human hands so that he has no control over the process of production. "The primary task of technology, it would seem, is to lighten the burden of work man has to carry in order to stay alive and develop his potential."[40] This does not imply that Mao was against modern technology, per se. Also, he did not mean to keep the peasants under primitive conditions as he has always been accused of by the Soviet Union. Mao's approach meant to help the people be aware of their conditions, he wanted to raise political consciousness among the peasants which was fundamental to economic or technological development.

Cultural identity was also fundamental to modern economic or technological growth. Mao's approach provided an opportunity for the peasants to examine critically their cultural heritage. It involved a selective process to determine those cultural traits, customs and traditions that were comparible with the envisaged modern Chinese society. Under the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao, political awareness and cultural identity were the major vehicles through which the peasants were to emancipate themselves from their degraded conditions and centralized political authority.

Yenan, the Peasant "School" of Revolution (1938-1949)

Yenan was an ideological and cultural school led by the peasants under the leadership of Mao. It was also a school in which peasants, with the help of civil servants, military personnel, university teachers and students who were sympathetic to the peasants, and members of the CCP, prepared themselves to overthrow the Rightist-Kuomintang regime. But what seemed to be more important was that Mao, for the first time, was able to implement his political ideology and social organization. Yenan society became a model of socio-political organization that was to spread all over China.

> The society of Yenan was a democratic society in which the traditional opposition between the organs of power--military and well as civil--and more recently between members of the Party and ordinary people, was reduced to the minimum. The civil and military cadres shared the simple life of the peasants and soldiers, lived like them in caves cut out of the loess hills, and bore no insignia of rank or power. [41]

The relationship between the peasants and the intellectuals reflected a kind of leadership to which modern Chinese society was aspiring.

it was a leadership that fostered social and economic equality, co-operation and human respect.

The peasants and the intellectuals lived together in mutual benefit. As both groups lived and worked together for the common good, it provided an opportunity for the elites for the first time to experience peasant life. Chesneaux goes on to say that

> . . .revolutionary militants from the towns, intellectuals and cadres, had to go to the school of the peasants, to learn its language and to draw on its rich traditions and colourful imagery. The 'ratification' of the Communist Party was accompanied by the elaboration of a new popular culture, fed by peasant tradition and at the sime time integrated with the revolutionary struggle.[42]

Elitist practices were discouraged among the communist intellectuals so that they were close to the masses who might use their help in improving their lot. Mao Tse-tung himself warned the intellectuals that

> Empty and abstract talk must be stopped and doctrinarianism must be buried to make way for the fresh and lively things of Chinese style and Chinese flavour which the common folk of China love to see and hear.[43]

Another important aspect of life in the Yenan society was the new role that Chinese women had to play in modern China. Traditionally the Chinese woman was always subordinate to the man, for example; in a traditional Chinese family, a wife was subordinate to her husband. According to Confucian teachings in classical China, a wife must be loyal, respect and obey her husband; children should respect and obey their parents, while the family should be loyal and obey the state. Furthermore, within the family the mother and daughters were inferior to the father and sons. In Yenan society unequal social status between men and women was eliminated so that every member was treated

equally. The creation of modern China did not mean the undermining or elimination of the Chinese cultural identity, but on the other hand, it was necessary to modify and even change some of the cultural traits, traditions and customs which were not compatible with the political, social and economic philosophy of the new Chinese society. Only those traditions and customs that enriched modern China were to be kept alive.

The preparation for the peasant revolution at Yenan achieved two important things; the peasants were politically, socially and culturally awakened, and secondly, they were militarily armed in their struggle against the Kuomintang-Rightist regime which was supported by the Japanese armed forces. It was in 1949 when the long, historical and bitter peasant struggle against the State, as the main oppressor, reach a final end by overthrowing the Rightist regime. In that same year Mao proclaimed the foundation of the People's Republic of China.

> The Chinese peasantry, whose fight for liberation through the ages has been so many times and so bloodily defeated, now stood among the victors; not as marginal and instructed allies, rapidly to be pushed aside as they had been in 1911, but as the main social force of the revolutionary movement.[44]

Cultural Revolution (1966)

After the Peasant Revolution (1949) Mao and the Communist Party set out to implement the political ideology that emerged from the Yenan society, the model of modern Chinese society. Again, members of the Communist Party had no concensus on the ideology that modern China should adopt. The government bureaucrats, supported by some of the Party leaders, took the road to capitalism after the Soviet

model, Mao, Chairman of the Communist Party, and his supporters--mainly workers, peasants and students--took the road to Socialism (Marxism-Leninism).

The rightists wanted to see modern China ruled and developed by literate people (this was because at that time over 80% of the Chinese population was illiterate).

> The Rightists insisted upon the need for organization and authority . . . The workers need tutelage; obedience and diligence are required of them; they are none the better for having their heads full of political wind.[45]

On the question of economic development the Rightists argued that it was the responsibility of the elite class to determine the nature of development.

> The task of industrialization must be carried out fast. It is nonsense to wait till the masses of the population are educated. We must build up a corps of managers and civil servants quickly; that means that we must draw upon the old lettered class, even if they were landlords or reactionary in the past.[46]

But Mao's ideology demanded social equality among all Chinese people and political participation by the illiterate masses. It also demanded the adoption of proletariat dictatorship as opposed to state dictatorship. The masses were to be given the opportunity to control their own affairs and determine their own destiny. The Chinese Cultural Revolution in 1966 did not bring about something new. What came out of the revolution was the activation of the type of political, social and economic organization which was developed by the Yenan society.

It was the first time in Chinese history that the masses; peasants, workers and students from all levels of educational institutions--

participated in public debates, discussion and criticism against anti-socialistic leaders. During the cultural revolution three main objectives were formulated; to arouse political awareness among the peasants, workers and students; education for masses, education for service to the people, and production (economic development)

Raising political consciousness among the peasants and workers was essential in order for them to effectively participate in exercising political power at both the grassroots and national levels. In the factories, communes and schools, the masses had the opportunity to make decisions on matters which affected them directly. Democratic institutions such as the Revolution Committees, were established to ensure that decisions were made democratically.

Mass education was necessary because the vast majority of the people in China were illiterate. As has been indicated earlier, the elite or literate class (the Rightist) claimed to have the right of political and economic control. They used their literate skills as an instrument to control the illiterate. As Freire points out,

> More and more oppressors are using science and technology (or education) as unquestionably powerful instruments for their purpose: maintenance of the oppressive order and domination through manipulation and oppression.[47]

Adult education programs were encouraged in the communes and factories. The education programs were made relevant to the needs or activities within the Communes or factories and such programs were controlled by the peasants and workers themselves.

In the factories political and education programs became essential parts of the production system. The workers rather than the managers

controlled the factories. The Revolutionary Committee made sure that the factories' performance in terms of production was a result of collective effort. Adult education programs provided what was known as functional education--educational programs which were meant to improve the efficiency of production techniques and to raise productivity. China now claims that over 80 percent of the population is literate.

The Commune; Maoist Strategy for Rural Transformation

It is estimated that there are 70,000 Communes in China in which over one hundred million families live and work. The concept of commune life was adopted in 1958 throughout China. Prior to this, (since the Peasant Revolution in 1949) land reform policy was concerned with the distribution of land to the poor peasants. Land was distributed on the basis of extended family units. Favouritism and nepotism were some of the factors which undermined the distribution system, a situation that brought about a declining level of food production. Famine was always a threat to the rural masses. The causes of these problems were obvious for it was the first time in China's history that peasants had access to land ownership.

In order to activate some of the traditional values such as co-operation and self-reliance (inward-looking), Communes were instituted all over China. A commune became

> . . .an economic, social and political unit, collectively owned and run by the people who live there, which organizes agricultural and other production, but also caters to the education, medical, welfare, and cultural needs of its inhabitants.[48]

The Commune Organization

The size of the commune varies. In some cases a commune may consist of 27,500 people with about 6,000 households, and an active labour force of 16,600.[49] For living and working the commune population is divided into smaller units know as brigades. A brigade is further divided into production teams, each of which consists of a number of families.

The administration of a large number of people in a rural underdeveloped community has to be tight and efficient in order to ensure better conditions for social, economic and political life. The Revolutionary Committee (RC) is responsible for all organizational matters in the brigades and communes. (This is also true in all factories, municipalities and school institutions). The leadership of the Revolutionary Committee is based on Mao's directive which states:

> . . . a three-in-one leadership combination to carry out the task of struggle-criticism-transformation. The RCs bring together elected representatives of the working masses, members of the People's Liberation Army and Political Cadres. RC organization provides at once direct participation of the people in the local planning and a link in the chain of command with the next high authority, the RC of the region, and ultimately the central government.[50]

Economic Activities

Agriculture is the main activity in most of the communes. Communes which have been able to develop quickly have established small scale factories, workshops and village blacksmiths which produce building materials, household goods and simple agricultural

tools for local consumption. All these activities amount to a response to the policy of local self-sufficiency, particularly in food production. Moreover, the concepts of self-reliance and local initiative are emphasized in the commune. Co-operation is another important factor in the daily activities in the communes. As members of the commune live and work together for the benefit of all, the collective spirit and efforts become crucial.

Moral Incentives

In the communes in which poor people are collectively determined to improve their living conditions, motivation is a determining factor in achieving their goal. It may appear to be even more critical in a Chinese society which has rejected material incentives and opted for non-material incentives.

> The success of most non-material incentives depends on the participant's outlook. Thus, non-material incentives by themselves may not work effectively unless they are accompanied by effective political indoctrination and education.[51]

Political education in a commune is the basis on which social and economic activities take place. As Mao once stated ". . .political work in the communes and factories is the life blood of all economic work."[52]

Co-operative incentives among the commune people derive from

> . . .individual's need for affection, for a sense of being included in important afaairs, and for a feeling of some control or influence over events which shape his life.[53]

In order to emphasize or stimulate moral incentives, slogans such as "fight self and serve the people", fight self-interest", "public

confession and self-criticism" are stressed in political education discussions, meetings and adult education programs.

Moral incentives are an important means of increasing productivity in the communes. The effectiveness of moral incentives is obvious in the production of food. For many years the Chinese poor have been the victims of starvation. With the adoption of communes, China now claims to be self-sufficient in food which is one of the basic human requirements.

Political Education

As has already been indicated, political orientation is the central focus of life in the communes. Political education in the communes is not merely a matter of studying Mao's quotations from the red pocket book. Peasants practice using political power and the democratic process. In other words, they practice what they learn from Mao's writings. The commune's affairs - social, economic and cultural - are discussed and criticized and decisions are made within the democratic framework; that is, every member has the right to participate in the decision-making process either personally or through a representative.

The production team is responsible for the organization of the production activities. For example, given the production quotas by Brigade RC, the production team will have to determine through its regular meetings, a work schedule which indicates what crops to plant at what season. The schedule also indicates individual responsibilities such as cultivation, planting, irrigation, rotation of crops,

and harvesting. What is important here is that the work plan and its related activities are drawn up collectively so that every member of the unit is aware of and committed to the decisions and activities. The distribution of the output is again the responsibility of all members of the unit.

At regular meetings one of the items for discussion is the evaluation of each member's work and deciding a work-point which determines the member's share of the total output. If a member is not satisfied with a grade point assigned at a public meeting, he or she can appeal to the Brigade or Commune RC for reassessment of his productivity in the production team.

Study meetings in the communes are concerned with reading Mao's writings and discussing them in relation to various activities going on in the communes. It is during such meetings that members of the commune, including the leaders, have the opportunity for public confession and self-criticism. All problems that arise from various activities in the communes are resolved in such meetings through what is known as moral and persuasive pressure. Unresolved problems are referred to RCs.

Leadership in the Commune

According to the principles laid down by Chairman Mao, leadership in modern China is based on the Party Committee which is an institution that ensures collective leadership. Such leadership prevents an individual from having a monopoly in the conduct of affairs. In order to make sure that collective leadership is

practiced, Party Committee meetings in all official institutions have been instituted. The Party Committee members should have good qualities that ensure a collective leadership:

> Neither collective leadership nor personal responsibility is over-emphasized to the neglect of the other.
> To lead means not only to decide general and specific policies but also to devise correct methods of work.
> Place problems on the table.
> Do not talk behind people's back.
> There should be a mutual understanding, support and friendship between the Secretary and the Committee members.[54]

The Party Committee Secretary should have additional qualities that enhance effective collective leadership.

> He must study hard and investigate thoroughly. He must be good at handling his relationship with the committee members. He must study how to run meetings successfully.[55]

Collective leadership is implemented from the top to the grassroots level-commune. A combination of collective leadership with political education at the grassroots level gives the Chinese peasants a sense of power and confidence that enables them to develop themselves socially and economically.

The Commune Public Services

Literary and functional education programs are combined into one program. For example, in agriculture, the peasants in the commune have the opportunity to learn modern agricultural techniques such as the use of fertilizer on the farm in order to increase productivity. Some of them learn mechinical skills to enable them to operate and maintain various machines owned by the communes. Literary skills are essential in order to enable the peasants to read Mao's writings that stimulate their political awareness.

The adult education programs are prepared in the commune by the members of the commune with some expert assistance from the government.

A primary school in a commune is controlled by the commune with the help of trained teachers who are also residents of the commune. The members of the commune determine the school curriculum in terms of national educational objectives which are translated to suit the commune's needs. Members of the commune have also the responsibility to decide which students should go on with education at both the secondary and university levels. Such a decision is made on the basis of the kind of education or technical skills the commune needs for the general welfare of the whole commune.

The commune is also responsible for health services. They run clinics which are staffed by Barefoot Doctors. Workers from the communes are selected for three to six month's intensive medical training during which time they qualify as Barefoot Doctors who go back to their respective communities to provide medical services to the people.

Summary

This chapter has reviewed the concept of social change, the development of the concept of community development and the Chinese model of development. It was noted that the application of theories and development models imported from the Western industrialized societies has not succeeded in solving the prevalent basic problems such as poverty, ignorance and disease in the developing countries. The Western models have been developed under the social, cultural,

economic, political and environmental conditions peculiar to the Western industrialized societies. The direct importation and application of such models does not seem to be relevant to the social, cultural, economic and political conditions of the developing countries. The notion of universal applicability of the Western models of development is therefore seriously questioned.

The historical development of the concept of community development was surveyed. During the British colonial era in Africa, for example, community development was used as a pragmatic approach to solving economic problems. Rothman's and Sanders' models of community development are further attempts to define the concepts of community development according to the different applications of the concept. What seems to be an important additional aspect of community development is the non-material element--the development of human resources. For example, the development of the individual's social skills for working with others or to promote a better social relationship.

Furthermore, the Chinese model is included in order to illustrate developing countries' attempts to adapt alternative models on the basis of their societal, cultural, social, economic and political environments. The Chinese model is geared to rural transformation. As is a common phenomenon in the developing countries the bulk of the population resides in the rural sector which is confronted by the predominant problems such as disease, ignorance and poverty. The Chinese model of rural transformation attempts not only to solve these problems but also to help the peasants to be self-reliant in terms of their own well-being.

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CHAPTER III

TANZANIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The official name is 'The United Republic of Tanzania'. In 1964 the then sovereign states of Tanganyika and Zanzibar formed a political union that brought about the new name Tanzania. "On the map Tanzania extends from 1°S to 11°S and from 29°E to 40°E, and is some 740 miles long and 760 miles wide. It has a coast line of about 550 miles."[1] Tanzania is located in East Africa which comprises Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. It is enclosed by the great lakes of Central Africa such as Lake Victoria, Lake Tanganyika, the second deepest lake in the world, Lake Nyasa, and the Indian Ocean. Tanzania is bounded on the north by Uganda and Kenya, on the south-west by Malawi and Zambia, on the south by Mozambique and on the west by Kinshasha (Congo). The area of Tanzania is 362,688 square miles which includes 19,782 square miles of inland water.

Generally Tanzania is a large plateau which is divided mainly into five parts:

(a) The coastal belt - 12-36 miles along the Indian Ocean. Generally the climate in this area is warm and humid; sometimes records over 95 per cent humidity. The temperature is high but in most cases the ocean breezes make the coastal belt pleasant.

(b) From the coastal plains the altitude rises into the "Nyika"- thorny bushland. The greater part of the Nyika lowlands are well-watered areas through which the main river system emerges.

(c) The central plateau reaches an altitude of 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea level. The climate here is cool.

(d) The southern highlands are at an altitude of 4,000 feet and are mostly cool.

(e) The Victoria plateau in the north has high temperatures. Although Tanzania is within the tropical region, its climate is never uniform.

> Variations in the altitude of the country are a key to temperature conditions. From sea level to 3,600 feet. . . the average temperature is 80 degrees F. . . . i.e. tropical temperature. From 3,900 to 5,900 feet. . . the temperature drops from 70 degrees F to 60 degrees F.[2]

The altitude and temperature influence the vegetation. The country's natural vegetation falls into three categories, grassland, woodland and thorny bushland.

> The Republic of Tanzania has a population of 14.4 million inhabitants. Only about 7.3 per cent of Tanzania's population is characterized as 'urban', while the remaining 92.7 per cent are engaged in agriculture, largely at the subsistence level. This means that they are largely dependent upon the production of staple food crops for their own consumption.[3]

The main food crops are millet, maize, rice, cassava, groundnuts, beans, root crops, peas, pulses and sweet potatoes. Tanzania's economy is heavily dependent on agriculture. For example, in 1972 ". . . 80 per cent of national exports originated from the agricultural sector."[4] The main agricultural exports are coffee, cotton, sisal and cloves.

Apart from the geographical and ecological variations, Tanzanian society is made up of over 120 tribes with diverse cultural backgrounds. Every tribe has its own dialect, but Kiswahili, the

national language which is essentially derived from tribal (Bantu) and Arabic languages, is spoken or understood by most of the people.

Early History of Tanzania

The history of Tanzania before 1500 is not fully known. Archeological discoveries have shed some light on the history of mankind in general. In 1959 Dr. Louis Leakey discovered in the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania a skull, 'Zinjanthropus', which was dated as being 1,750,000 years old. It is believed that it is a skull of the first man whose history started in Tanzania.

The ethnographic history of East Africa in general, and of Tanzania in particular, is not clear. The Bantu people, who form the major group of the East African or Tanzanian residents, are known to have been preceded by the Bushmen and the Hamites. The Negroes, whose origin is unknown, are believed to have appeared in Tanzania in 5000 BC. Intermarriage between the Negroes and the Hamites resulted in the Bantu people of today.

East African or Tanzanian Contact with Outsiders

It is suggested that the Egyptians and Phoenicians were the first outsiders to visit East Africa or Tanzania around 600 BC. Probably they were in search of trade. Later on, trade was opened up between Arabia and India and the Bantu of East Africa. Helped by the monsoon winds, the Arabs, Indians and Persians sailed to the East African coast to establish trading posts. The Portuguese also opened up trade with East Africa and became trading rivals particularly with

the Arabs. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries attempts were made to colonize the coast of East Africa, using Zanzibar and Mombasa as important colonial centres. Both the Portuguese and the Arabs were colonial rivals but eventually the Arabs were able to eliminate the Portuguese sphere of influence on the coast of East Africa.

During the same period international trade reached Tanzania. Foreign traders brought cloth, beads, guns and other goods while they took ivory, gold, tortoise shells and slaves. In the interior of Tanzania, slave trading was, during the nineteenth century, a lucrative business which was carried out by the Arabs. Apart from the slave trade, the Arabs introduced the Islamic religion which spread to the interior. The Arab culture had a strong influence, particularly along the coast;

> The Arab settlers intermarried with the coastal Bantu people, and the result of these intermarriages was the creation of the Swahili people (coastal people). At the same time the Swahili language developed from a mixture of Arabic and Persian with the local Bantu languages.
> The present day Swahili civilization of the coast thus had its beginnings during this period.[5]

During the 1870-88 period the interior of East Africa or Tanzania was opened up by explorers. One of the notable explorers was the famous missionary Dr. David Livingstone, who explored south, east and central Africa. Missionary work had been carried on extensively in the interior of Tanzania and at the same time the British intensified their efforts to abolish the slave trade. The international "scramble for Africa" began in this period. "One of the chief reasons Britain was interested in East Africa during the nineteenth

century was that she hoped to abolish slave trade there."[6]

Before the Arab and European penetration, the interior of Tanzania was occupied by various tribes; today there are more than 120 tribes in Tanzania. Historians, on the basis of oral traditions, maintain

> ... that over the past three hundred years or so Tanzania has been the scene of extensive population movements and cultural changes. There were no clearly-defined 'tribes'; rather, there was a continual process of intermingling, assimilation, and the formation of new groups with new forms of speech and new modes of economy.[7]

Even during the slave raids carried out by the Arabs, the interior migratory tribal groups from the south and east were a common phenomenon. The migratory groups raided the settled groups so that tribal wars were the order of the day.

Under such circumstances tribal groups could not be organized under a strong chieftainship. Most chieftainships at that time had weak centralized power. The most outstanding tribal group with centralized administrative and military power were the Ngoni who came from Zululand (South Africa). In the 1830's, escaping from the harsh and brutal rule of Chaka, the mighty chief of Zululand, the Ngoni migrated north. The Ngoni had full-time warriors who were well trained and disciplined. They raided other tribes as they proceeded toward Lake Victoria. There were practically no tribes in Tanzania which could fight or resist the Ngoni raids. Chieftainships in Tanzania were further weakened and disintegrated.

German Appearance in Tanzania

Sir Reginald Coupland pointed out that the familiar phrase

"the scramble for Africa" has usually been used "to denote the process by which the unoccupied territories of tropical AFrica were hastily appropriated in one form or another by rival European Powers between 1884 and 1891."[8] In this period Britain, Germany and France were involved in the partition of Africa. Germany, in her ambition to establish an overseas empire in competition with other big nations (before the "scramble"), sent out an expedition in 1880 to Lake Tanganyika. In 1884, Karl Peters, who was sent to the interior of Tanzania by the Society for German Colonization, sponsored by the Government of Germany, made twelve treaties with some of the "African Chiefs. . . whereby large tracts of land were handed over "for all time" in exchange for a few trinkets."[9]

Early in 1885, Germany, under the Kaiser, issued a charter extending his protection to all the territories acquired by Peters and granted the management of this land to the Society.[10] The German East Africa Company was a new body created for this purpose. The Company faced great resistance from the tribes of Tanzania. The anit-Eurpoean uprising started along the coastal areas and eventually spread inland as well. Tribes in the countryside united to resist German rule which they regarded as harsh and brutal. Because the Company failed to contain the uprising, the Imperial German Government took over the country's administration in 1891.

But the tribal revolts continued. The most serious and threatening tribal uprisings against German rule were organized by Chief Mkwawa of the Hehe tribe (southern Highlands) and a group of chiefs in the southern part of Tanzania. The southern uprising was known as Maji-

Maji (1905) which was the most widespread uprising ever experienced in East Africa. These revolts were extremely costly in terms of human life. Both sides suffered heavy casualties although on the native people's side, the consequences of these revolts had far-reaching effects socially, economically and politically.

As a result of the tribal revolts, tribal organization had broken down as leaders were lost in the course of fighting against the Germans. The countryside was hit by famine and epidemics and the death toll was extremely high. The masses suffered losses of property and livestock on which most of the tribes depended.

German Rule: Its Administrative Structure

Because of the weakened authority brought about by the uprisings, it became easier for the German government to rule the natives directly. The country was divided into 21 districts with each district further broken down into groups of villages with about 20,000 to 30,000 people each. A group of villages was administered by an appointed official know as "Akida" whose responsibility was to conduct the local court as a judge, and to ensure the maintenance of law and order within his jurisdiction. Each village was headed by a headman or "Jumbe" as he was popularly known. Jumbes were also given magisterial power, and were expected to keep law and order in their villages.

The short-lived German administration in Tanzania experienced difficulties in running the country due to a lack of colonial administrative experience. Corruption, fraud and oppression exerted by the Akidas made the German administration unpopular with the indigenous

people. Hostility toward the German administration by the natives was common all over the country. The German administrators were regarded by the native people as domineering, strict disciplinarians. Chanelling their orders through the Akidas and Jumbes, the German administrators expected the peasants to obey strictly. The Akidas the Jumbes formed part of the downward channel of communication which seemed to be convenient for the colonial administrators in ruling the natives. This kind of communication conditioned the peasants to behave in a passive way in their relations with the colonial or local leaders. Attitudes such as fear, dependence, self-depreciation, loss of self-image and the feeling of worthlessness began to develop in the peasants during the 17 years of German rule in Tanzania.

Throughout their rule in Tanzania, the Germans were mainly concerned with economic development that would benefit Germany. Administration was important only in relation to economic development. Plantations were established, and sisal, cotton and coffee were introduced to Tanzania as cash crops. The famous railway connecting Lake Tanganyika and the Indian Ocean was built to assist the economic programs.

Early in their rule, the Germans established a school system in Tanzania.

> In 1911 there were over 1,000 schools and 66,647 pupils in the Colony. Most of these schools were in the hands of missionary societies, only 83 schools being supported by the Government. The vast majority were lower level, elementary schools. In addition to three government and 14 missionary industrial schools, there were 17 'schools for practical work' whose aims were 'to turn out artisans for the Europeans. and women for domestic work, to develop old Arab handicrafts, and introduce new culture'."[11]

In other words, the schools did not prepare the children to play roles in the village development. The education system transmitted the values and beliefs, in the case of the mission schools, of German or European society and not those of the indigenous people. The children were schooled in order to provide services in the colonial administration.

In order to maintain law and order the German Administration completely supressed slave trade throughout the country.

At the defeat of Germany in World War I in 1919, in the Treaty of Versailles, the German colonies, including Tanzania, were handed over to the League of Nations, and were administered by its Permanent Mandatory Commission. The colonies became mandatories

> . . .being responsible for sending the Commission regular reports upon the administration of the territories... Britain received the Mandate for . . . Tanganyika Territory, a name that was officially given to the British area in January, 1920.[12]

Tanzania Under British Rule

The League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission as previously noted, took charge of the former German colonies, including Tanzania. The British government was asked to look after Tanzania under specified terms of reference as follows:

> . . .promote to the utmost the material and moral-being and the social progress of . . .Tanganyika's inhabitants (Article 7); . . .to protect the natives from abuse and measures of fraud and forces by the careful supervision of labour contracts and recruitment of labour (Article 5); to respect the rights and safeguard the interests of the native population . . . in the forming of laws relating to holding or transfer of land (Article 6); to ensure in the territory complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality (Article 8). .[13]

However, the structure of the Government in Tanzania was to be determined by Great Britain. In 1920 the Colonial structure of Tanzania's government comprised the Governor, who was the Crown's representative, and, "responsible for peace, order and good government in the territory, and extensive executive, legislative and judicial powers."[14] The Governor had an executive council (whose members were only whites) which was mainly an advisory body. Six years later, as a result of complaints from Europeans, the Crown authorized the creation of the first Legislative Council which had more official members than unofficial members. The unofficial members were appointed by the Governor himself. They were appointed on the basis of their suitability for the job rather than to represent the interests of any group or race. None of the unofficial members were natives, for it was argued that the natives were not ready for such responsibility at that time. The Governor's authority in the Legislative Council was supreme.

Indirect British Rule

The German system of local government was unacceptable to the British. Under German rule, village level administrators were appointed by the German authority, who were normally people from outside the village or district. The British authority found that the German type of local government was one of the main causes of tribal disintegration, and so wanted to reactivate the traditional rule; chieftainship. Under the "Native Authority Ordinance" native chiefs and headmen were empowered to maintain law and order in their respective areas. In other words, the native leaders were

to make sure that order, regulations and laws which came from above were implemented by their people. The District Commissioners worked closely with the traditional leaders who became paid employees of the colonial administration. The chiefs and headmen had to direct their loyalties to the colonial administration rather than to their people as far as the traditional leaders were concerned.

The rationale for the introduction of the Indirect Rule by reactivating traditional leadership was that Africans would maintain their "Africanness". Cameron, the second Governor of Tanganyika, who introduced the indirect rule system, stated:

> We want to make him a good African and we shall not achieve this if we destroy all the institutions, all the traditions, all the habits of the people, superimposing upon them what we consider to be better administrative methods, better principles; destroying everything that made our administration really in touch with the customs and thoughts of the people. We must not, in fact, destroy the African atmosphere, the African mind, the whole foundations of his race, and we shall certainly do this if we seep away all his tribal organizations, and in doing so tear up all the roots that bind him to the people from whom he has sprung.[15]

"We must not, in fact, destroy the African atmosphere, the African mind, and the whole foundation if his race. . ." is a key sentence for this discussion. It implies that the African was encouraged to maintain his cultural identity. But this was far from what actually happened in the implementation of the indirect rule policy. The relationships that emerged between the peasants and the chiefs on one hand the the chiefs and the colonial administrators on the other, as will be noted shortly, were not consistent with the policy stated in the above quotation.

The Native Authorities in actual fact became a very important

arm of the colonial government, forming a link between the government and the peasant societies. The nature of the duty of the traditional rulers was judicial, administrative and financial. There were two important duties for the chiefs:

> . . .maintaining law and order, collecting the hut and poll tax, keeping a census of their people and of livestock, reporting outbreaks of human and animal diseases, and maintaining roads other than trunk roads. (Secondly), the Native Authorities were to administer justice. .[16]

by using courts and customary laws. The District Commissioner played a crucial role in reinforcing the Native Authorities' duties while the chiefs became an important link in a downward colonial type of communication. The chiefs and headmen, as employees of the colonial government, acted as puppets of the colonial administration through whom orders, laws and regulations were superimposed upon the peasants. The local leaders were therefore mainly concerned with the fulfillment of the colonial masters' interests, economically and politically, rather than being concerned with the welfare of their own people. The concept of indirect rule evidently became a matter of colonial administrative expendience.

The Chiefs, acting under pressure from the District Commissioners, stringently reinforced the colonial orders and regulations. As will be indicated later, the peasants resisted the system and developed hostility towards their own leaders and even more so toward the colonial administrators. For example, the government's attempt to introduce forced changes in agricultural practice was met with strong resistance by the peasants.

Tanzania Under the Trusteeship System

In 1946 the League of Nations was dissolved and another body called the United Nations was formed. The Mandate Territories came under the United Nations Trusteeship Council and therefore new terms of reference regarding the former mandates were drawn up.

> As far as Tanganyika is concerned, the most important of these is contained in Article 76, which states specifically that Trust Territories are to be developed "towards self-government or independence." Under the Mandate the final destiny of the territory was left uncertain; the trust was defined by the Covenant only as "the well-being and development" of "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves." By Article 6 of the Trusteeship Agreement, Great Britain, as the Administering Authority, undertook to "develop the participation of the inhabitants of Tanganyika in advisory and legislative bodies and in the government of the Territory, both central and local, as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the Territory and its people".[17]

The phrase "towards self-government or independence" in the above quotation was crucial in terms of the new role of the colonial government, and as well to Tanzania as it was entering an important era as far as the preparation for political independence was concerned.

One of the main issues at that time was to determine the nature of the process through which Tanzania was to be prepared for political and constitutional independence. Time was also a factor. The British Government indicated fifty years as a reasonable time for political preparation, while the Trusteeship Visiting Mission in 1948

> . . . was greatly impressed by the quality of their educated (African) minds, their general and reasonable understanding of local affairs and requirements and their appreciation of territorial problems.[18]

The visiting Mission recommended to the British Administering Authori-

ties to draw up a plan that would accelerate independence for Tanzania.

The Period of Constitutional Reform

From 1949-1955 Tanzania experienced constitutional reform. In 1951 the first African was appointed to the Executive Council while the two main racial groups - Asians and Africans, were equally represented in the Legislative Council. The Tanganyika African Association, which later became a powerful political party known as Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), accepted the constitutional change but expressed its concern about the disproportionate representation in the Legislative Council, as Africans formed the majority of Tanzania's population.

Local Government Development

Under the constitutional reform, the imperial government introduced the concept of the County Council at the provincial level, a body in which Africans, Asians and Europeans were represented. At the district level, Local Councils were instituted to function along with the County Councils. The concept of county and local councils enabled the respective bodies to assume executive responsibility for local matters such as education, health services and the maintenance of roads.

Development Problems

The British regime, like other colonial regimes in Africa, imposed social and economic changes on the rural Sector. Such changes

were mainly concerned with agriculture and animal husbandry; the major economic activities of the peasants. Regulations dealing with rural agricultural improvement

> . . .were first introduced in the late 1920's and became widespread by the late 1930's. From about 1948 to 1957, laws enforcing agricultural change--which were concerned with anti-erosion measures, cattle culling, disease prevention, and the inspection of crops--constituted the main plank in government's efforts for agricultural improvement.[19]

There was a strong reaction from the peasants against the government's policy of agricultural improvement. Peasants expressed their concerns through their tribal unions. The most significant opposition presented by peasants concerned the 'Meru Land Case':

> In late 1951 about 1,000 members of the tribe had been forcibly evicted from two farms (covering some 5,345 acres) that were inside the area to be included in the dairying scheme. The evicted families were moved 35 miles away, to new land that had recently been opened up by the government. Finding this land not to their liking, they returned to other tribal lands and took up residence there. A representative of the Meru Citizens Union twice took the case to the United Nations to force Great Britain to restore the two farms to the evicted families.[20]

The Meru land alienation case received a great deal of publicity in the Territory and became a very sensitive political problem. The Trusteeship Council Visiting Mission noted the case with great concern and strongly recommended to the colonial administration that land policies insure that the Africans actively participate in agricultural economic development.

The peasant's hostility toward the colonial administrators was aggravated by the nation-wide publicity of the Meru case, while TANU capitilized on this issue to bring about unified efforts to oppose colonial administrators from imposing development policies which were

formulated without input from the peasants.

Indigenous Political Development in Tanzania, 1924-1961

The central theme of political development in Tanzania was the indigenous peoples' resistance to foreign domination. Prior to the rule of the white man, Tanzania consisted of tribal societies, each of which had its own identity and its own social, political and economic organization. European domination towards the end of the nineteenth century, forced tribal societies to unite in order to confront the common enemy. Their reaction to the rule by outsiders became a unifying force.

To be more specific (although historians and political scientists have not paid much attention to the early political development of Tanzania) the foundation of Tanzania's political development was laid down during the initial native uprising, particularly that of Maji-Maji in 1905. In this large-scale revolt, a group of tribes banded together, determined to eliminate the foreign intruders; the Germans. Implied in this struggle was the realization that they had to unite to confront a common enemy. Nyerere is right when he says that the Maji-Maji uprising was the foundation of Tanzania's unity and nationalism which the TANU had to reinforce in the struggle for political independence during the colonial era.

As early as 1924, the natives began to search for political autonomy. At this initial stage, voluntary associations were formed in which the indigenous people attempted to reflect on their situation and their relationship with the colonial political structure. But, somewhere between 1927 and 1929, an urban-based organization

called the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) emerged as a political body. It was the urban native people, mostly civil servants, who formed the Association. The initial problem of the TAA was, however, to enlist support from the peasants. At the same time the colonial administration put pressure on it by mounting a counter propaganda campaign that rejected the TAA as a representative political institution of the African population. In fact, the colonial administration regarded the Association (in the 1930's) as merely a social rather than a political organization.

However,

> . . .after World War II, the TAA became increasingly political as it extended its sphere of interest into the rural areas. From an urban-based interest group, the TAA was developing into a national movement.[21]

In the countryside, peasant support was acquired through the tribal unions. These tribal unions became crucial to the TAA in its attempt to establish a national movement.

By this time, the hostility of the peasants toward the colonial administrators was mounting as a result of the imposition of changes in agricultural practices. Such reaction was led by the tribal unions. The TAA and tribal unions formed a united front to oppose the colonial regulations that accompanied the agricultural policies as well as the colonial agents, the Chiefs. The publicized Meru Land Case had a great impact on the TAA. As Bienen points out,

> The most-celebrated single case of opposition, the Meru Land Case, which was debated in the General Assembly of the United Nations was crucial in stimulating the creation of TANU. Meru opposition to the forcible alienation from their land in 1951 . . . . gave rise to explicit links between a tribal union and the TAA--which later became TANU.[22]

In the 1950's the TAA or the TANU, as it became known later on, emerged as a national movement supported by many other interest groups including the churches. But at the same time the association was facing two crucial problems; co-ordination of the association's activities in both the countryside and the urban centres, and, as Beinen terms it, ". . . the difficult task of unifying the disparate African populace."[23] The latter problem seemed to be the most crucial one as far as building nationalism and political development were concerned. The TAA or the TANU was then attempting to unite over 120 tribes in Tanzania with varied cultural backgrounds. It had to deal with different religious groups--Protestants, Catholics and Mohammedans; some spoke Kiswahili, while other spoke the tribal tongue; it had to unify the urban and rural population with a marked social and economic disparity. It had to bring together the educated minority and the illiterate masses. It became imperative for the TANU to ensure that neither socio-economic nor cultural elements became inhibiting factors for the development of nationalism and unity.

TAA Was Reformed, TANU Emerged

There was a great need to strengthen the TAA, particularly in the co-ordination of its activities, in order for it to be a national representative movement. Under the leadership of Julius Nyerere (who is now the President of the United Republic of Tanzania) in 1954 TAA was reformed and became the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) which determinedly shouldered the responsibility for building nationlism and unity, leading to political independence.

The TANU did not face serious problems in unifying the people of Tanganyika for several reasons but the following were most important:

(a) "Tanganyika does not have large, centralized chiefdoms which might have become the focus for ethnic nationalism; most of the large tribes are recent, loosely knit federations not historical kingdoms with strong central rulers'[24] as Buganda in Uganda or major tribes in Nigeria.

(b) Nyerere's popularity grew quickly in the countryside because of his charismatic nature; his simplicity, accessibility and humanitarian approach to political matters. His acceptability to the masses as a national leader was almost taken for granted. Now Nyerere is known as Mwalimu (teacher), Baba wa Taifa (father of the nation), names which have to do with his personal qualities as a leader rather than names merely given to him because of his high political position.

(c) European rule, particularly that of the Germans, weakened the tribal system, especially during the widespread tribal revolts in which some of the most outstanding chiefs, like Mkwawa, and their families, were eliminated. That is why the British faced considerable difficulty in determining the traditional chiefs for manning the local Authorities System. The slave trade had an adverse effect on tribal organization as the Arabs encouraged the chiefs to raid one another's tribes.

Kiswahili, A Language of National Integration

As previously noted, Kiswahili was a language that emerged as a result of cultural contact between the natives of Tanzania, Arabia and Persia. In the early days Kiswahili began to develop along the coastal areas and spread into the interior while the centres of

Swahili culture remained in the costal areas. Later on, as people from the countryside settled or sought employment in the emerging towns such as Tanga and Dar es Salaam, Kiswahili became the major means of communication among the urban dwellers with varied linguistic backgrounds. Kiswahili was very much associated with the cultural elements such as the Islamic religion and the lifestyle of the coastal people. Such cultural aspects had a great impact on the early town inhabitants. The provincial and district towns were also influenced by the coastal towns' lifestyles. Even today, Kiswahili is an important denominator in the towns and cities.

When indigenous political development started in the towns, Kiswahili, as a common language, facilitated the political unification of the town residents. Kiswahili then became a political as well as a cultural element. By the 1950's, Kiswahili was generally understood and spoken in all the towns and the majority of the peasants could also speak it or at least understand it. It therefore,

> . . . provided an ideal, ready-made vehicle through which TANU officials could communicate with the grassroots of society and operate even in unfamiliar localities. Swahili was an essential component of Tanganyika's national identity; it was equated with Tanganyikaness.[25]

Prior to independence it became imperative for the TANU to promote Kiswahili. The TANU was engaged in literacy or adult education; it opened up its own elementary schools in which Kiswahili was used as the medium of instruction. All public Party meetings were conducted in Kiswahili. The TANU was thus able to unify the people of Tanzania to oppose the colonial rule and demand political autonomy.

Toward Political Independence

The British constantly challenged the TANU's claim as being the national representative and accused it of practising racism. The TANU government would not gaurantee political positions for the Europeans and Asians. This was a reaction to TANU's call for an election based on universal adult suffrage. The British government initiated the creation of an opposition party, the United Tanganyika Party (UTP) whose major aim was to pursue a multi-racial policy in order to oppose TANU. The British government also rallied the chiefs to present opposition to TANU but since the chiefs lacked a strong tribal base, this attempt was fruitless. In fact, the colonial regime's opposition was an important factor in further strengthening TANU as a national movement.

The popularity of the TANU was demonstrated in a two-part general election in 1958 and 1959. The TANU won an overwhelming majority of members in the Legislative Council, a situation which gave rise to having more representatives in the law-making body. This initial election demonstrated two important elements: the TANU was assured that the masses supported and recognized it as the national movement and that it was fighting for the common cause; it also confirmed that the peasants and workers had responded to the TANU's call for unity and nationalism, both of which were crucial and fundamental pre-requisites for the effective demand of political independence.

The election results of 1958 paved the way for self-government. From then on the TANU did not face any important opposition from other political parties since the UTP died a natural death. It did not even

contest any seats in the 1958 general election. The African National Congress (ANC) formed in 1958, was too weak to challenge the TANU which had already grown nation-wide. In the final general election of 1960 (during the colonial era) the ANC contested two seats but were unsuccessful so that the TANU became the only representative party. The TANU was further strengthened as the national representative party by the 1960 general election when it received a majority of the votes. All members of the Legislative Council, except one independent member, were TANU-sponsored. Practically, but not constitutionally, the Legislative Council consisted of one party in the absence of an opposition party. This is the situation which, after independence, gave rise to the country's constitutional change that established a one-party state.

TANU's repeated victory in the 1960 general election gave rise to the timing of Tanzania's independence.

> Under the leadership of Governor Turnbull (the last Crown representative) and TANU's President Nyerere, Tanganyika moved rapidly toward responsible government, internal self-government, and independence in December 1961.26

Within the first year of independence, the Legislative Council, which was henceforth called the National Assembly, passed special legislation to enable Tanzania to hold its first Presidential election. The TANU was presented by its leader and Prime Minister as a presidential candidate, while opposed by the ANC leader. Nyerere won over one million votes while the ANC leader gained only 21,176 votes. In December 1962 Tanzania became a republic under the leadership of Nyerere as the first President of the Republic of Tanzania. This date also indicates the final stages of the colonial relationship between

Tanzania and Great Britain.

Tanzania had now achieved political independence, but

> The struggle to achieve "uhuru' (freedom) in its fullest sense continued of necessity after independence had been achieved. No longer was the struggle against an alien colonial regime, but against 'poverty, ignorance and disease' and to achieve national unity, political integration and economic development.[27]

Having identified national basic needs or problems, the TANU set out to search for ways and means of reaching the peasants and establishing a political structure that would enable the peasants to participate in exercising political power in both the local and national situations. Secondly, the TANU, as well as the peasants, were not satisfied with the colonial approach to rural development. These two important political aspects are discussed at length in the following chapter.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the historical background prior to Tanzanian independence. Tanzania's contact with alien cultures brought about cultural, social, political and economic changes. For example, the emergence of Kiswahili, Christianity and Islam was a result of contact with Arabic, European and Asian cultures. The imposition of the German and British rule gave rise to the supression of the tribal, social and political organizations.

The colonial administrative structure consisted of a local government which was an important colonial political institution for controlling and exploiting the peasants. The indigenous chiefs became the crucial colonial arm through which rules and orders were passed to

the peasants. The imposition of agricultural changes upon the peasants in the 1920s and 1930s evoked strong negative reaction from the peasants, a situation which led to political awakening among the peasants.

The imposition of agricultural changes and land policies alienated the peasants; a situation which strengthened unity among the peasants who were by then being mobilized into a national political movement that stood to oppose colonial rule and demand political independecne.

The introduction of the agricultural economy and education during colonial rule seemed to be positive aspects of the colonial rule. This is not true. The colonial social and economic development plans were extensions of the colonial nation's development plans. The development activities in Tanzania were meant to enhance the colonialists' countries' economy.

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CHAPTER IV

POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA: TANZANIA'S SEARCH FOR A DEVELOPMENT MODEL

A Democratic One-Party State: The Supremacy of the TANU

In Chapter III the historical background of Tanzania was noted. The imposition of Colonial rule gave rise to cultural, social, economic and political change. The emergence of TANU provided an opportunity for the peasants to unite in opposition to colonial rule and its social and economic policies. This chapter discusses specifically Tanzania's search for a development model in which TANU plays a central role.

We have already seen the role of TANU in leading Tanzania to independence. But on the other hand, TANU's role in social, political and economic development is even more crucial in the post-independence era. In 1965, TANU was legally and constitutionally declared the only party given the mandate to represent the nation of Tanzania. Constitutionally Tanzania became a democratic one-party state. Many observers from the West have criticized this by saying that the one-party system violates the fundamental principles of democracy and that it is a deterrent to the individual freedom of choice of government or policy. This kind of freedom is only guaranteed in a two-party system. In actual fact reference is made in this regard to the Western forms of democracy, a situtation in which a citizen exercises his choice between two, or even three, alternative government or policies. Some critics further argue that in a one-party system dictatorship, or an oligarchic pattern of government, is inevitable.

The adoption of a one-party type of government was not a matter of choice but rather a reality that was brought about in 1960 by the first Tanzanian election. In this parliamentary election

> All but one of the MPs had been elected. . . on a TANU ticket, and, although one or two others were at times at variance with the party, there was never anything of a formal Opposition.[1]

The introduction of the ujamaa ideology by Julius Nyerere gave rise to the consideration of African democracy which existed in African societies. Nyerere argues that

> The traditional African society, whether it had a chief or not, and many, . . . did not, was a society of equals and it conducted its business through discussion....
> (Elders used to) talk till they (agreed). (That was) the very essence of traditional African democrary.[2]

Nyerere's vision of a democratic society was not related to the American or British competitive party system. As Pratt observes:

> (Nyerere's) vision of a democratic society was not that of the pluralist, constitutional democracy of Western democratic theory. Rather the ideal democratic society was the self-governing community of equals in which each accepts a moral responsibility for the welfare of his follows. Democratic self-governing in this intimate communal sense is most easily conceived as feasible in small communities. Nyerere (feels) that many traditional African communities were democratic societies in this sense.[3]

As far as the new nations in Africa are concerned, Nyerere sees them as emerging nations that have been created as a result of their struggle for political independence.

> The struggle for freedom from foreign domination is a patriotic one which necessarily leaves no room for difference. It unites all elements in the country (for a common struggle) ...., these countries are lead by nationalist movement rather than a political party or parties.[4]

Nyerere further stresses that the traditional African form of democrary differs from the Western forms because of the historical,

sociological and cultural conditions which are different in these societies. Referring to the formation of parties in America or Europe, for example, Nyerere indicates that

> The European and American parties came into being as the result of the existing social and economic divisions -- the second party being formed to challenge the monopoly of political power by some aristocratic or capitalistic group. Our own parties had a very different origin. They were not formed to challenge any ruling group of our own people, they were formed to challenge the foreigners who ruled over us. They were not, therefore, political 'parties--i.e., factions--but national movement.[5]

On the other hand, Nyerere realizes that in order for the traditional African form of democracy to operate effectively in the modern nation-state, such a democratic model must be modified. Nyerere finds that the answer is the formation of

> . . a Legislative Assembly of representatives, chosen by local communities, who would then make their decisions as law-makers after thorough discussion. Nyerere's ideal (is) thus a government by men of goodwill who are trusted by their fellow citizens and are electorally responsible to them.[6]

Such a legislative assembly reinforces what Nyerere considers to be those essential characteristics of a democratic government; discussion, equality and freedom.

Early in 1963, Nyerere, as party leader, delivered a keynote speech to the Annual Conference of TANU in which he proposed a one-party state in Tanzania. The conference examined and discussed thoroughly Nyerere's proposal for the creation of a one-party system and endorsed the proposal and requested him, as Head of State, to appoint a Presidential Commission to consider the necessary constitutional changes so that the nation became, by law, a one-party state.

In the following year, Nyerere appointed the Commission and

while he determined "to establish 'a free, democratic and stable one-party state,'"[7] he took great care in drawing up the terms of reference to guide the Commission. The statement of appointment included

> . . . Specifically, I have instructed the commissioners, in their consideration and examination, to observe the principles that
> (a) Tanganyika shall remain a Republic with an executive Head of State;
> (b) The rule of law and the independece of the judiciary shall be preserved;
> (c) There shall be complete equality of all Tanganyikan citizens;
> (d) There shall be the maximum political freedom for all citizens within the context of a single national movement;
> (e) There shall be the maximum possible participation by the people in their own government and ultimate control them over all the organs of State on a basis of universal suffrage;
> (f) There shall be complete freedom for the people to choose their own representatives on all Representative and Legislative bodies, within the context of Law.[8]

President Nyerere asked the Commission to bear in mind that its recommendations on the democratic one-party system must be based on the national ethic.

> There are certain ethical principles which lie at the basis of the Tanganyika Nation, and the whole political, economic and social organization of the State must be directed towards their rapid implementation.
>
> 1. The fundamental equality of all human beings and the right of every individual to dignity and respect.
> 2. Every Tanganyika citizen is an integral part of the nation and has the right to take an equal part in government at local, regional, and national level.
> 3. Every individual citizen has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief, of association within the context of the law, subject in all cases only to the maintenance of equal freedom for all other citizens.
> 4. Every individual has the right to receive from society protection of his life, and of property held according to law, and to freedom from arbitrary arrest. Every citizen has the corresponding duty to uphold the law, constitutionally arrived at, and to assist those responsible for law enforcement.
> 5. Every individual citizen has the right to receive a just return for his labour, whether by hand or brain.

6. All the citizens of the country together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their decendants, and those resources may therefore not be surrendered in perpetuity to any individual, family, group, or association.

7. It is the responsibility of the state, which is the people, to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens of Tanganyika, and so as to prevent the exploitation of any person, or the accumulation of wealth which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.

8. The nation of Tanganyika is unalterably opposed to the exploitation of one man by another, of one nation by another, of one group by another. It is the responsibility of the state, therefore, to take an active role in the fight against colonialism wherever it may exist, and to work for African unity, and for world peace and international co-operation on the basis of human equality and freedom.[9]

As the Presidential Commission toured the regions, public hearings were organized in which the Commission explained its task while the peasants, workers, party and government functionaries expressed their views and ideas on the subject of a one-party system. The general public opinion was that TANU should become the sole political movement in the Republic of Tanzania. The public also felt that factions and alternative parties only presented a threat to national unity. It was also the opinion of the people that within the democratic one-party system there should be a mechanism that would ensure a democratic exercise of political power.

> The reasons for (the public) supporting the one-party state were nationalistic rather than socialistic. TANU was seen as representing the nation. All men of good will should be able to join TANU. No barriers should exist to their membership. The Commission itself made this point in these terms.[10]

> The principles of TANU as set out in Article 2 of the TANU Constitution, do not contain any narrow ideological formulations which might change with time and circumstance. They are a broad statement of political faith. We believe they carry the support of the vast majority of the people of Tanganyika and must strike a responsive chord in men of good will in every

civilized country in the world. A party based upon these principles and requiring adherence to them as a condition of membership would be open to all but an insignificant minority of our citizens and would, we believe, be a truly national movement.[11]

The Commission's "one-party" recommendations, based on the framework of the terms of reference and national ethic contained roughly two major items; TANU was to become the sole national and legal political party, with the democratic participatory machinery within the party to ensure the proper exercise of political power. Secondly, TANU, as the only representative party of the nation, was supreme and above the parliament and government.

Examining the Tanzanian electoral system under the one-party state constitution, Pratt summed it up as follows:

> The main features of the Tanzania electoral system which permit Tanzania to be called a democratic one-party state are the following:
>
> 1. Anyone may be nominated to be a candidate for election to the National Assembly if he or she is a member of TANU and has the support of twenty-five electors.
> 2. TANU is not a closed and ideologically exclusive party. Membership is open to anyone willing to accept the aims and objectives of TANU, a requirement that has excluded very, very few from party membership.
> 3. In each District the Annual District Conference, a comparatively large and representative party meeting, interviews all the candidates in each constituency within the District and votes its preference as amongst them.
> 4. The National Executive Committee of TANU then decides which two of the nominated candidates in each constituency will in fact be presented to the electorate as candidates. In the first election Nyerere introduced the further important rule that the NEC would only upset the ranking of candidates which had been done by an Annual District Conference when the NEC agreed that there were compelling reasons why one or other of the top two names should not be put to the electorate.
> 5. The electorate campaign which then follows operates within a set of rules designed to assure as fair a contest as possible. No candiate may spend any money on his own campaign. All election meetings are organized by the District Executive Committee of the party and each meeting is addressed by both candidates in the constituency. No candidate can claim that

> he is supported by any prominent TANU leader and no one may campaign in any constituency on behalf of a candidate other than the candidate himself. No tribal language may be used in electioneering and no appeal may be made to issues of race, tribe or religion. A three-man supervisory team of TANU elders from outside the region attends all the election meetings to assure that these rules are obeyed.[12]

The supremacy of TANU became clear as has already been noted. According to the TANU constitution, TANU represents all the citizens of Tanzania; since it was a national movement that united all the efforts of the Tanzanian people in their struggle against the common enemies, disease, ignorance and poverty. In 1965, TANU through the National Executive Committee (NEC), acquired the power and status of that of the Assembly (legislature). The role of Parliament and the NEC was then redefined in accordance with the Presidential Commission on the democratic One Party state, which stated:

> The role of the National Assembly and that of the NEC are essentially different. The NEC is concerned with the formulation of the broad lines of policy. It is the soul and conscience of the Party . . . The National Assembly, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with the more detailed task of giving effect to government policy through appropriate legislative measures and exercising vigilant control over all aspect of Government expenditure.[13]

After the election of 1965, some MP's (All MPs are also members of TANU NEC) became critical about the supremacy of TANU and wanted to reassert the supremacy of Parliament. In other words, these MP's challenged the role of the party in relation to parliament as already noted. These MPs, some of them very provocative and critical, attempted to introduce debates and private bills in the Parliament in order to change some of the policies and even the Constitution as formulated by the Party. The one-party system was challenged in terms of its democratic proceedings. Some challenged the Party's policy of Regional

Commissioners appointed by the President, who also became MPs as ex-officio members and had the right to vote. This situation, some MPs argued, "was a clever government manoeuver to multiply its voting power."[14] Other MPs wanted the Parliament to pass a law that called for an immediate democratic election in Zanzibar. These were matters of policy and constitution over which the parliament had no jurisdiction. The introduction of policy and constitutional changes was the responsibility of TANU NEC.

> In several addresses to the National Assembly the Second Vice-President did little more than restate principles to which they Party had long since committed itself. Mr. Kawawa warned the House that those MPs who continued to contend the principle of Party supremacy and to oppose Party policy would be dismissed. He threatened the National Assembly to instruct the National Executive Committee "to look into some member and screen them where possible."[15]

As some MPs consistently challenged the supremacy of the Party, TANU NEC convened to discuss the situation in which is was resolved to expel nine members from the party, eight of whom were MPs who were automatically expelled from Parliament as well. The expulsion of these MPs strengthened the power of the Party.

TANU , as from the proclamation of the Arusha Declaration, the Tanzanian policy of Socialism, resolved to play a crucial role in the formulation of social, cultural, political and economic policies that would reach the masses in the villages and ensure their democratic participation in political matters.

TANU Attempts to Reach the Masses

Undemocratic Colonial System of Local Government

As already noted, after independence TANU was dynamically involved

in building democratic institutions with the main objective of providing the masses in the villages with an opportunity to effectively participate in exercising political power. During the colonial rule, as previously noted, peasants were looked upon as mere objects, subject to political manipulation and economic exploitation. TANU, as a propagator of cultural, social, political and economic changes among the masses, realized that fundamental to all other changes was the politicization of the peasants. Peasants were to be responsible for their own development. The establishment of strong political organizations at the village level was therefore prominent. This is how TANU determined to reach the peasants. As Nyerere one said, "Others try to reach the moon. We try to reach the villages."[16] The statement stressed the determination of TANU in its deliberations.

At independence, Tanzania had inherited the colonial form of local government and regional government administration which was controlled by civil servants. The Native Authority System of local government, as indicated in Chapter III, was employed to serve the colonists' interests rather than those of the peasants. In 1962 the government abolished the Native Authority system and the traditional chiefs who were the executive officers in that system. The colonial system of local government was then replaced by "elected District Councils which exercised important local powers under the close supervision of the central government."[17] Again it was the responsibility of TANU to see that members of Councils were elected democratically. It was an important political, as well as educational, experience for the peasants.

Another important change introduced in the regional and district government administration was the appointment of Area Commissioners as political leaders, as well as heads of the district administration to replace the former District Commissioners who were civil servants. Regional Commissioners, as political leaders and heads of regional administration, replaced the former Provincial (regional) Commissioners and civil servants. As political leaders, their role in village development activities was of vital importance.

> The Commissioners became key men in TANU's process of organization around the local development projects; they toured the countryside organizing the people in self-help efforts.[18]

The Emergence of Village Participation in Development

In the first half of 1962 the government established what was called

> A People's Plan for development. . . This plan was based on autonomous development committees at the village level, whose task was to plan individual development schemes.[19]

The introduction of the development committee system, particularly at the village level, was one of the major steps that TANU and its government had taken to incorporate the peasants into the political power structure, or more specifically, into the process of decision-making. The creation of development committees at the village level came about for several reasons:

1. TANU believed that the peasants were to be responsible for their own development; a situation which would eliminate the colonial paternalistic relationship that existed between the colonial administration and the peasants.

ii. Before independence, TANU, in its process of politicizing the peasants, used the words "Uhuru ua Umoja" (Freedom and Unity) as a powerful and arousing political slogan. This slogan implied that only with united effort, could the people of Tanzania liberate themselves politically, socially and economically.

iii. At independence, the previous slogan added another emphasis, "Uhuru na Kazi" (Freedom and Work). This slogan implied that freedom and unity must be accompanied by hard work. The masses were then encouraged to work hard in order to improve their own social and economic conditions. It meant to attack the three basic problems, poverty, disease and ignorance.

iv. At independence, TANU had already attempted to establish village TANU committees to stimulate and organize the peasants to respond to TANU's call of self-reliance or self-help projects.

v. The concepts of self-help were received by the peasants with great enthusiasm all over the country. Peasants were actively engaged in self-help projects on building schools, dispensaries, roads, bridges; some villagers volunteered to start adult education classes in the villages; some were involved in co-operative economic activities of an agricultural nature.

The role of TANU in the self-help projects was extremely important. The Commissioners in particular had to play an important role in the development schemes. Self-help projects were matters of political consensus schemes. Development does not consist, for example, in deciding that a village needs a new well and then telling technical personnel to construct one.

> The decision to have a well, getting the villagers to accept the location of the well, and persuading individuals themselves to carry out much of the construction work, in co-operation with technical specialists are all a matter of political concern.[20]

TANU personnel who worked closely with government personnel were crucial 'forerunners'. They had to travel around to politicize village committees and the masses in general. They had to organize meetings in which peasants would come together to discuss their problems, while the TANU leaders interpreted policies, explained the importance of the self-help concept, persuaded and organized peasants around village projects, and also discussed with the peasants how to take the fullest advantage of technical advice and knowledge from the government specialists who were very scarce and in great demand at that time.

For TANU, organizing people in self-help projects aimed at increasing

> . . . local political participation through the mechanism of TANU local organizations and development committees, at the same time to tighten TANU's control over localities by popularizing and implementing these programs.[21]

TANU always realized the importance of technical knowledge and skills provided by specialized government personnel. TANU and the Ministry of Community Development dominated the village scene.

> The Ministry of Community Development, in conjunction with TANU, was to be the vehicle for bring about social change conducive to economic development without creating the dislocations of many modernizing experiences. Community development workers were to bring new awareness to the leaders and the people at the village, district and regional levels . . .And (national) leaders told TANU regional, district, and local officials that they ought to be, in effect, community development officers.[22]

The role of the newly-created ministry, particularly at the village level, was equally important. Community development workers had to deal with social and attitude changes among the peasants. They had to stimulate a new awareness among the peasants of their identity and their relationship with their environment. They had to help the peasants develop a critical consciousness, new aspirations, self-confidence, self-help, co-operative attitudes and help them to organize and to make the best use of the available village human and physical resources for the benefit of all. Politicization, social and attitude changes became important prerequisites to economic change in village life. Considering the conditions of village life and the sociological and historical aspects of peasant societies, such a task was not easy for TANU or the Ministry of Community Development. Many more problems were created as will be discussed later on.

The Committee System Structure

We have seen some of the major factors which gave rise to the establishment of the committee system. An equally important reason was the need for co-ordination of government departmental activities and those of TANU (as will be discussed shortly) in the villages. By 1963 the development committee structure included: the Village Development Committee (VDC); the District Development Committee, later (1967) renamed District Development and Planning Committee (DDPC) and the Regional Development Committee (RDC) (1968). Under the decentralization system, (1972) to be discussed later, the development committee structure was reorganized and renamed as follows: The Ward Development

Committee (WDC) (1975), now known as Village Development Committee (VDC); the District Development Council (DDC), while the DDPC became DDC sub-committee: the RDC retained its name.

(i) The Village Development Committee

As indicated earlier, the VDC was a crucial village institution which also served as a co-ordinating agent of government department and Party activities at the village level. Before the creation of Village Development Committees, village activities were organized by TANU village committees. This Committee engaged in politicizing and organizing self-help projects for the peasants in the village and worked closely with the government technical staff. After the VDC's had been instituted, it became necessary to amalgamate the VDC's and the TANU Village Committees. As noted earlier, at independece, TANU village functionaries and government village workers worked in a very co-operative manner. This is also true for the distruct government and party functionaries. The amlagamation of the two into village committees in 1964 indicated that introducting social and economic changes among the peasants was the concern of both the government and the party, but fundamental to this kind of change was the building of a strong village political organization; the VDC

The importance of the role of the VDC's was then clear. Vice-President Kawawa was not exaggerating when he said that the key to nation-building lay with the chain of VDC's

> The Village Development Committees form a chain of command providing the essential two-way flow of ideas between government (party) and the people. . .[23]

Given political autonomy, the VDC became an elected representative

village government, as Bienen comments:

> Government in the villages means self-government--in deciding on and providing basic services. Thus the VDCs are now called on to do more than guide self-help programs or implement the "Five Year Plan": they become the organs of representative government at the village level.[24]

The role of community development workers has been discussed, but it also played an important role in helping local leaders to set the committees.

The VDC was an elected body while the major important component of this body was the TANU Village Committee. A party leader (TANU Chairman) of the village became chairman of the Committee. The Committee's main responsibilities were to discuss and determine problems or needs of the village; carry out the village planning exercise; be it social, cultural and economic; organize self-help projects and voluntary labour. The Committee formed an important link between the peasants and the regional and district government and party functionaties.

(ii) The District Development and Planning Committee

Most observers agree that the DDC was an equally important institution as far as village development was concerned. Ingle, in his study, made the following observation:

> While the party is the thread that sews together the district political system, there has been a need for some formal institution through which the various elements of the party and government could co-ordinate their efforts to promote development. The institution that has emerged was originally known as the District Development Committee--and is now the District Development and Planning Committee; some observers call it the most important institution in the district.[25]

Given the peasants' enthusiasm for self-help projects as stimulated

by the party and government functionaries and the government's and TANU's eagerness to introduce social and economic change among the peasants, it was necessary to institute a mechanism that would co-ordinate these activities at the district level.

The composition of the DDC included the Area Commissioner, finance committee of the District Council, all the departmental specialists in the district (at the Headquarters), and the District Chairman of TANU.

> The Area Commissioner chaired the Committee; his principal duty was to review and assess, with the technical officers' advice the development plans of the village-level development committees throughout this district. The Committee would then co-ordinate and arrange priorities of these proposals received and form a development master plan for the district.[26]

This statement further stressed the role of TANU in the social, cultural and political development at the grassroots level. Villages were entrusted with their own development. Furthermore, TANU, having confidence in the process of rural transformation by the peasants did not want to regard the Village Development Committee as a strategic village level institution through which both the government and the party would impose orders and packages of development from above. During the colonial era, the British local government was based on "Indirect Rule". Under the Local Authority System, the British Colonial administration established local institutions such as the tribal chiefs and his councils, the sub-chief and headmen. But these village level institutions were created for colonial administrative convenience. Maintining a colonial type of communication, these institutions became very important colonial strategic organs through which orders were passed to the peasants and were also the most efficient method of

exploiting the masses through taxation.

The Village Development Committees were given autonomy to determine their own village affairs that effected them directly. TANU hoped that the committees would grow into strong village political organizations that would facilitate the development of political consciousness among the peasants and also, as TANU leaders had always stressed: "information . . . from the centers must flow down to the villages, and the needs and desires of the people must be conducted to the center."[27]

(iii) The Regional Development Committee

The role of this Committee was not clearly defined until the decentralization system in 1972. Until then the nature of its role was the same as that of the DDPC, co-ordinating all the DDCPCs in the region in their development activities.

Rural Transformation: TANU and Government First Attempt

Social and economic development since independence was also TANU's major concern. Before the formation of VDCs, the village TANU committee was actively engaged not only in politicization but also in helping the peasants start communal activities, mainly of a farming nature. In such endeavours, TANU wanted the peasants to realize that the fruit of "uhuru" is hard work and self-reliance. But in order to solve the basic common problems - ignorance, poverty and disease, peasants were encouraged to pool their efforts and maximize the use of physical and human resources available locally. Apart from inducing

the peasants to start communal farms, TANU itself had started its own communal farms run by TANU and the TANU Youth League district organization.

TANU's attempt to organize its own communal farms set an example for the peasants rather than merely making speeches on the importance of co-operative economic activities. At this time the emphasis shifted from self-help to nation-building schemes. Kujenga Taifa - 'nation-building' became a powerful political slogan that was emphasized in TANU public rallies and in the national news media, radio, and party newspapers. The TANU Youth League, which was one of the most powerful TANU organs, encouraged its members from all over the country to establish communal farms.

In 1961 the author watched with keen interest as a group of TANU Youth League members organized themselves to start a small settlement at Litoa in the Songea district. Starting the settlement was extremely hard work. Lacking moral support from the general public, and a full understanding of what they were going to achieve, the task seemed even more difficult. Discussing the project with some of the members at the inception stage, the author noticed one important thing--they were determined and imaginative--and TANU provided encouragement and moral support. Wood describes the settlement:

> The purpose of the (settlement) was to establish a co-operative village based on principles of work-sharing and profit-sharing previously unknown in that country. Each settler, however, retained his own plot of land for the cultivation of food crops. Initially, the experiment encountered many difficulties: the bush in this area is exceptionally dense, the local population such as it is was not sympathetic to the unfamiliar ideas that the Litoa settlers were attempting to convey: the settlers themselves did not have a clear idea of what they were attempting to achieve.[28]

In spite of the intial difficulties, the development of the Litoa settlement was very encouraging and it became the most prominent TANU co-operative farm. Looked upon as a model settlement, Litoa's ideas and experiences spread all over the country where similar settlements were started.

One important lesson was learned from the Litoa village experience at this initial stage of the rural transformation process; that given the oportunity and encouragement, peasants may learn to be responsible for their own transformation. Or as Wood observes again that the Litoa experience

> . . . has shown that the ordinary villager in a remote area of a very representative 'developing' country can, if given the responsibility and possibly a minimum assistance from external agencies, do much to build for himself a progressive rural society.[29]

President Nyerere's Policy of "Education for Self-Reliance" is based on his close acquaintance with the practical experience of the village school at Litoa. His major works on "ujamaa", the basic one of 1961 used extensively the Litoa experience, for he was personally involved in giving both moral and material support. Later on, Litoa became the first successful ujamaa village in the country.

In response to 'nation building' calls, the government had to devise a new policy and strategy of rural development. Co-operative agricultural production was thought to be an appropriate strategy. Peasants were solicited to engage in what were called pilot projects or settlements. The establishment of settlement schemes based on co-operative agricultural production, was the government's response to the failure of the colonial method of introducing rural

transformation-"improvement approach" which has already been discussed

> Prompted by a team of World Bank experts who reported on Tanganyika's economic development in 1960, and with additional advice from Israel experts who visited the country in 1961 and 1964, the government added another dimension to its development strategy in the first plan in the form of what became known as the "transformation approach" to agriculture. The objective here was to concentrate capital investment and technical manpower on groups of farmers settled in more fertile areas, and to intoduce farming systems based on more intensive and permanent use of land.[30]

What this statement indicates is that capital was the answer to the rural poverty-stricken peasants. Indeed, for a poor country like Tanzania, such schemes were the most expensive to undertake at independence. But with good intentions, and concern about the deplorable rural living conditions, the government was optimistic about the success of the schemes. "Each scheme was planned to absorb about 250 families and to use heavy capital investment of around £150,000."[31]

Some of the ideas or experiences from Litoa were employed. Farmers had individual small land holdings for family food production, while communal farming was the major settlement economic activities. Towards the end of 1965, the Rural Settlement Commission, a government agency, was responsible for 25 village settlement schemes with 3,402 farming families.[32]

The consequences of such projects were obvious. The 'transformation approach' was a complete failure. One important thing to note here is that the schemes were initiated by the government (while TANU was mainly preoccupied by the Litoa type of settlement), the schemes themselves were managed by experts in finance management and adminj-stration.

> In general there was little dependence on the farmers' initiative or self-reliance, all the major decisions being made by the government. Only one of the twenty three schemes had reached the stage of forming a self-governing co-operative society by the end of 1965, the remainder still managed and financed by the government.
>
> Inevitably the impact of these schemes, both economically (and socially) . . . was very small. . . but there is no doubt that, with more than £2 million invested in only twenty-three schemes, the rate of return on investment was generally low. The reasons were those which have been found to be common to most government-initiated schemes: poor initial planning, over-capitilization,...inadequate management... The danger of over-capitilization was appreciated, as was the fact that the more the State was involved in the co-operative enterprises, the poorer was likely to be the response of the farmers.[33]

A sense of responsibility did not develop among the farmers in that process of transformation for it appeared to them as a complete involvement of the government in the management and financing of the projects which assumed the responsibility of the success or failure of the schemes.

Meanwhile, TANU was not very enthusiastic about the "transformation approach" based on capital investment although it was willing to support the government by politicizing the peasants and attempting to organize political organizations in the settlement schemes. On the other hand, TANU and its organs, continued to establish communal farms modeled on those of Litoa from which it drew ideas and experiences on which the Presidential policy of "Socialism and Rural Development" presented by Nyerere after the Arusha Declaration in 1967 was based. This policy will be discussed under "ujamaa".

The Ten-House Cell: TANU's Modern Local Political Organization

Prior to 1964, TANU's locally based organization was the TANU Village Committee which later merged with the Village Development

Committee. As noted earlier, this was one of the attempts made by TANU to reach the villages so that the peasants were given the opportunity to participate effectively in political matters.

In order to strengthen the local political organizations, TANU introduced the ten-house cell system in 1964 which was successfully tried in Dar es Salaam and later introduced into the countryside.

As Ingle comments, ".... the most important structure in the political system of Tanzania is the ten-house cell."[34] A ten-house cell consists of a group of ten houses who residents are all TANU members under an elected leader. As the system became nation-wide the criterion of TANU membership of the system became unimportant for, as noted previously, TANU was (and is) a national movement which represented the whole nation. Although every cell member was encouraged to join TANU, some cell members did not. This situation is still true today.

The establishment of the ten-house cells in the rural sector was received by the peasants with great enthusiasm. Supervised by the Regional and District political leaders, the process of grouping the houses into ten-house systems in the rural areas was quick and successful. The positive response from the peasants came about because the formation of the cell units was completely carried out locally, and secondly, the ten-cell leaders were chosen by the cell members themselves; the elected leaders were among the cell members.

The Role of the Ten-Cell House

In establishing the cell system TANU regarded the

> . . . cells . . . as a means of reaching the masses and thereby strengthening the organization of the Party. They would provide the framework "whereby all the people will have a better opportunity to participate in the running of the day-to-day affairs of (the) nation." They would facilitate two-way communication, of the people's views and opinions to TANU and Government, and of the nation's policies to the people. By extending leadership to the village level, leaders would be more accessible to "all sorts of information regarding social and economic development."[35]

The cells were given the task of politicizing and mobilizing the members to engage in social, economic and political activities. Cells provided a forum whereby the cell members could meet and freely discuss their problems, and TANU and government policies; the cells became important local institutions in which the peasants were provided with an opportunity to develop their political and democratic procedural skills. This will be discussed in Chapter V.

The Cell Leader

The central role of the cell leader will be discussed in Chapter V. Only the overall duties of the cell leader will be mentioned here.

The role of the cell leader in the village was extremely important because, as Ingle points out, "He became the most prominent individual actor in the political systems of the village."[36] His duties, as Ingle quotes from a party official, were to:

> (a) explain to the people the policies of TANU and government.
> (b) articulate people's views and opinions and communicate them to TANU and government
> (c) play their role in safeguarding the peace and security of this country by seeing to it that laws and regulations are obeyed.
> (d) foster strong co-operation among the cell members.
> (e) . . . take over all charge of the affairs of the Party in the cell.

(f) . . . be delegate of the cell to the annual branch conferences.
(g) he is a cell representative of the VDC.[37]

Today, under the decentralization system, the responsibility of the cell leader is even more crucial in the ujamaa village. In the newly-created ujamaa village, cell leaders are elected members of the VDC and are charged with the responsibility over village matters.

Problems

The Role of the Government Officers

Regional and District leaders thought that preaching to peasants in order to introduce social change, seemed to be an effective method. Leaders drove from their town headquarters to the villages and there they made long speeches on the importance of development that had to take place in the rural areas. Some of the leaders made skillfull speeches about leadership. Nyerere is an orator and a leader who is able to get down to the peasants' level and speak their own language. Although Nyerere is a charismatic leader and an excellent public speaker, some leaders considered his public speaking ability the sole quality for leadership, and imitated his voice and mannerisms. The peasants needed permanent staff in the village who could help them in their daily activities. They needed assistance in translating the policies into action, a situation that needed systematic organization and village leadership development.

Community Development (CD) Workers

The role of the CD workers as defined by the Government was extremely important in the process of introducing social change to

the rural areas. They were responsible for seeing that the people themselves played an active part in their development. They were to assist in the development of local leadership and establish an organizational structure which would facilitate development schemes. But as Bienen observed, most of the CD workers were not properly trained. They needed organizational skills as well as social skills to enable them to effectively assist the peasants. Some of the VDCs misused their power as they began to dictate to their people; tensions developed which resulted in the formation of factions within the villages. The CD workers who were expected to prevent the formation of such factions could not handle the situation as they lacked training in human relations.

The limited number of CD workers prevented the creation of VDCs all over the country. Some of the VDCs were established but they did not function as there was no assistance in fulfilling their responsibilities.

The author observed, while teaching in the rural areas, that CD workers appeared infrequently in the villages. A CD worker would come into the village, organize a seminar for the village leaders and then disappear for months; there was no follow-up. The village leaders remained inactive or merely waited for another leader to come from the town and deliver a long speech.

Local Leadership

The policy of establishing VDCs to enable the villages to control their own affairs remained only on paper. Such a policy did not spell

out programs of leadership development at the village level. How could local leadership emerge if the CD workers themselves were poorly trained, and the regional and district leaders' interest was merely in delivering carefully prepared speeches using, in most cases, a language not well understood by the peastant?

Another common mistake at independence was the the leaders, particularly government leaders, were actively involved in initiating and running self-help projects at the expense of the passiveness of the peasants. Such leaders wanted to impress the leaders above them that they were doing a good job and this justified their promotions. The field workers aspired to the district positions, while the district officers aspired to regional positions and the regional officers aspired to national leadership.

Ujamaa as a Model of Development

Ujamaa--the Basis of African Socialism.[38]

The initiator of the concept of ujamaa upon which African Socialism is based, is Julius Nyerere who is currently the President of the United Republic of Tanzania. It was early in 1962, after the first year of independence, when Nyerere's thoughts on ujamaa were first made public. In the first of his "Essays of Socialism" Nyerere argued his case that ujamaa must be the basis of socialism.

There were perhaps two major reasons which prompted Nyerere to study the concept of ujamaa; coming from a tribal society, Nyerere himself was a strong believer in the principles which guided the pattern of living in such a society; secondly, Nyerere realized the

inadequacy of both the colonial 'improvement approach' and the post-independence 'transformation approach' to rural development. The common characteristic of both approaches was that packages of development were imposed by the government upon the peasants.

Nyerere was then searching for a development model that would provide both human and economic development, and in which the masses were to be made responsible for their own development. In the 'transformation approach' the economic aspect of development was over-emphasized. Ujamaa development would emphasize the development of human or social relationships. On the other hand, Nyerere was looking for a development model which would transform the countryside in which the bulk of the population resided and who were confronted with the basic problems of ignorance, disease and poverty.

Nyerere's thoughts on ujamaa were extensively discussed in various TANU meetings and in its institutions, particularly Kivukoni College in Dar es Salaam, the main ideological institution. Nyerere's initial thoughs on ujamaa had a great impact on the communal farms organized and managed by TANU Youth League members throughout the country. Nyerere's concept of ujamaa became the basis of the Arusha Declaration.

Ujamaa and Socialism

The concept of ujamaa means "familyhood" or "brotherhood". It describes the way of like in a traditional African extended family. The traditional African extended family was guided by three basic principles. Such principles were reflecged in the family's values, customs, beliefs, attitudes and behavior. The first principle which related to

social life, was "respect", "a recognition of mutual involvement of one another."[39] The second refers to the property of the extended family; the essential goods were owned collectively and shared among all members of the family. Thirdly, work was an obligation for every member of the family. Co-operation was essential for the social, economic and political organization of the family. Nyerere argues that the extended African family practiced what he terms 'African Socialism' which was based on ujamaa ideology or principles in which members of the family lived together and worked together for the benefit of all.

Nyerere further points out that:

> . . . socialism, like democracy, is an attitude of mind. In a socialist society it is the socialist attitude of mind, not the rigid adherence to a standard political pattern which is needed to ensure that the people care for each other's welfare.[40]

He also stresses that "the foundation and the objective of African socialism is the extended family."[41]

Africa's contact with European culture, which was reinforced by colonialism, brought about capitalistic attitudes. The concept of "employer" and "employee" did not exist in a tribal society, for every member of the extended family, the basic social, economic and political unit, was required to work. Work was a way of life.

Land, as a marketable commodity, is a foreign capitalistic concept. In the traditional society, land was part of life. Land was collectively owned in the sense that every member of the family was entitled to a piece of land for his livelihood. Therefore, individual ownership of land was a colonial capitalistic concept, which had its roots in Europe rather than in Africa.

Individualism and competition are capitalistic values associated with colonialism. The rich and poor, the exploiters and the exploited, the landed and the landless, and the system of social classes were concepts introduced to Africa by the colonists.

> Indeed I doubt if the equivalent for the word 'class' exists in any indigenous African language, for language describes the ideas of those who speak it, and the idea of 'class'. or 'caste' was non-existent in African society.[42]

Tracing the origin of these concepts in relation to European socialism, Nyerere observes that:

> European Socialism was born of the Agrarian Revolution and the Industrial Revolution which followed it. The former created the "landed" and the "landless" classes in society; the latter produced the modern capitalist and the industrial proletariat.
>
> These two revolutions planted the seeds of conflict within society, and not only was European Socialism born of that conflict, but its apostles sanctified the conflict itself into a philosophy. . . The European socialist cannot think of his Socialism without its father--capitalism![43]

African Socialism was not a product of these two revolutions. African Socialism evolved through a historical process, through the extended family's life experince, and therefore, it is an attitude of mind.

Nyerere stresses that modern African Socialism should be built on the foundation of the traditional African way of life:

> Modern African Socialism can draw from its traditional heritage the recognition of "society" as an extension of the basic family unit. But it can no longer confine the idea of the social family within the limits of the tribe. . .
>
> It was in the struggle to break the grip of Colonialism that we learnt the need for unity. We came to recognize that the same socialist attitude of mind which, in the tribal days, gave to every individual the security that comes of belonging to a widely extended family, must be preserved within the still wider society of the nation.[44]

Nyerere's concept of ujamaa and African Socialism became the basis of the new blue print for Tanzania's African Socialist Policy embodied

in the Arusha Declaration.

The Arusha Declaration

Nyerere's second major stage in the development of ujamaa was the formulation of societal goals and policies based on ujamaa. Entitled the Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance, it was the national policy of African Socialism which was ratified and approved by the ruling party, the Tanganyika African National Union, at the beginning of 1967.

The Arusha Declaration marked an important era of Tanzania's social, economic and political history. The policy consists of three main components.

The TANU Creed. TANU's main objective is to build a socialist state under the principles of Socialism as laid down in the Party's Constitution. Based on the three principles of "equality and respect for human dignity; sharing the resources which are produced by our efforts; work for everyone and exploitation of none,"[45] these principles are as follows:

> Whereas TANU believes:
> (a) That all human beings are equal;
> (b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect;
> (c) That every citizen is an integral part of the nation and has the right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national level;
> (d) That every citizen has the right of freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief and of association within the context of the law;
> (e) That every individual has the right to receive from society protection of his life and of property held according to law;
> (f) That every individual has the right to receive a just return for his labour;
> (g) That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants;

(h) That in order to ensure economic justice the state must have effecitve control over the principal means of production; and

(i) That it is the responsibility of the state to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens, and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless soceity.

NOW THEREFORE, the principal aims of objects of TANU shall be as follows:

(a) To consolidate and maintain the independence of this country and the freedom of its people;

(b) To safeguard the inherent dignity of the individual in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

(c) To ensure that this country shall be governed by a democratic socialist government of the people;

(d) To co-operate with all political parties in Africa engaged in the liberation of all Africa;

(e) To see that the Government mobilizes all the resources of this country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease;

(f) To see that the Government actively assists in the formation and maintenance of co-operative organizations;

(g) To see that wherever possible the Government itself directly participates in the economic development of this country;

(h) To see that the Government gives equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status;

(i) To see that the Government eradicates all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption;

(j) To see that the Government exercises effective control over the principal means of production and pursues policies which facilitate the way to collective ownership of the resources of this country.

(k) To see that the Government co-operates with other states in Africa in bringing about African unity;

(l) To see that the Government works tirelessly towards world peace and security through the United Nations Organization.[46]

The Policy of Socialism

(a) Absence of Exploitation.

A truly socialist state is one in which all people are workers and in which neither capitalism nor feudalism exists. It does not have two classes of people, a lower class composed of people who work for their living, and an upper class of people who live on the work of others. In a really socialist country no person exploits others.[47]

(b) The peasants through their co-operative and governmental institutions must control the major means of production.

(c) The Existence of Democracy

In a socialist country the process of decision-making should be democratic and therefore a socialist government must be democratically chosen by the peasants and workers themselves.

(d) Socialism is Belief.

> Socialism is a way of life, and a socialist society cannot simply come into existence. A socialist society can only be built by those who believe in, and who themselves practice the principles of socialism.[48]

It becomes important that a TANU leader must accept and live in accordance with such principles.

The Policy of Self-Reliance

Essentially this policy implies that Tanzania ideally must adopt attitudes of self-reliance. It means self-determination, and a reliance on the local human and physical resources which it possesses. Tanzania must be developed socially, culturally, economically and politically by its people on the basis of ujamaa principles. Tanzania's economy depends largely on agriculture which must be developed systematically.

The development of modern Tanzania is a concern of every Tanzanian. But in order to fulfill the development objective, certain conditions must be met. The most important requirement for development is hard work. Workers in the factories and the peasants must be encouraged to work hard in order to develop themselves as well as the whole nation. The peasants should be encouraged to work co-operatively so that collective development is realized. They should be made responsible

for their own development. The use of intelligence is another condition of development. Hard work will only bring good results if combined with intelligence. In agricultural activities it becomes essential that modern agricultural techniques and knowledge be used in order to increase production.

In order to implement the policy of self-reliance four things must be emphasized,

(a) The Land

The economy of Tanzania will continue to rely heavily upon agriculture and animal husbandry. If the people of Tanzania want to rely upon themselves, it is necessary that the land be used properly, and for the benefit of the whole nation rather than for the benefit of one individual or a few people. The land belongs to the nation.

> It is the responsibility of TANU to see that the country produces enough food and enough cash crops for export. It is the responsibility of the Government and the co-operative societies to see to it that our people get the necessary tools, training and leadership in modern methods of agriculture.[49]

(b) The People

The people must be helped to learn and practise the meaning of self-reliance so that they are self-sufficient in the basic goods; clothes, food and housing.

(c) Good Policies

The principles of self-reliance are important parts of the policy of socialism. The policies of socialism are aimed at preventing exploitation so that it becomes:

> . . . necessary for everybody to work and to live on his own labour. And in order to distribute the national wealth fairly, it is necessary for everybody to work to the maximum of his ability.[50]

(d) Good Leadership

Without good leadership, the policies of socialism and self-reliance cannot be implemented effectively. TANU recognized the importance of good leadership. It urged systematic training for all leaders, from national leaders to the ten-cell leaders. They must be conversant with the social, economic and political policies based on ujamaa. They must show a good example by living according to the socialist principles, and, in particular, they should observe the following leadership code:

1. Every TANU and Government leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism or feudalism.
2. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company.
3. No TANU or Government leader should hold directorships in any privately owned enterprise.
4. No TANU or Goverment leader should receive two or more salaries.
5. No TANU or Government leader should own houses which he rents to others.
6. For the purpose of this Resolution the term 'leader' should comprise the following;
   Members of the TANU National Executive Committee; Ministers; Members of Parliament; senior officials of Organizations affiliated to TANU; senior officials of para-statal organizations; all those appointed or elected under any clause of the TANU Constitution; councillors; and civil servants in the high and middle cadres.
   (In this context 'leader' means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband).[51]

Socialism and Rural Development

The pronouncement of the "Arusha Declaration" was followed in 1967 by a presidential policy; "Socialism and Rural Development". It was an important operational policy in which guidelines and goals for the

implementation of Ujamaa and Socialism policies were spelled out.

However, the new operational policy emphasizes three major elements. Referring to agricultural production, the policy states that agriculture must become a dominant activity in the rural areas; that peasants must be persuaded to form Ujamaa villages in which Ujamaa agricultural production would be undertaken, and that Ujamaa villages would become autonomous, determining their own village matters. In other words, what the policy stresses is that the rural transformation must have a high priority.

The Objective

Modern Tanzania, guided by the three basic Ujamaa principles, is determined to build a socialist society

> . . . in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live in peace with his neighbors without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury.[52]

The Tanzanian model of socialism is geared toward rural development. Without socializing the countryside, Ujamaa and socialism have no meaning in modern Tanzania. About 93 percent of the Tanzanian population resides in poverty-stricken rural areas. In order for the peasants to improve their living conditions they must be helped to organize themselves to engage in economic agriculture.

Ujamma Agriculture

Traditionally, peasant homesteads are scattered throughout the rural areas. The organization of Ujamaa agriculture will require relocation of the traditional family homesteads. It becomes imperative that the creation of Ujamaa villages be a pre-condition for Ujamma

agriculture.

Creating Ujamaa villages, as far as the peasants are concerned, is a new experience because it requires a different kind of social and economic organization. This is because the social and economic organization in a traditional society is based on the extended family in which kinship relationships prevail. Another important characteristic of the traditional sector is related to its contact with the white residents in the rural areas since colonial penetration. The agricultural economy introduced by the whites in the countryside was carried out under the influence of capitalism; competitive and individualistic attitudes. Peasants learned such attitudes as they became involved with the agricultural "cash" economy. Capitalistic agricultural production became an ideal type of economy in the rural areas to which peasants general aspired.

> With involvement in cash economy, Tanzanian peasants have learned individualistic economic behavior. Increasingly individual peasants produce individually to most individual needs, ignoring the needs of any large community. The development of the bonds of solidarity that constituted the substance of traditional Tanzanian societies. With the gradual atrophy of the collective life of the traditional family, clan and tribes, the Tanzanian peasant has lost something extremely valuable, something for which an increase in material wealth is not sufficient compensation.[53]

The social and economic organization in the Ujamaa village will be set up in opposition to the two major characteristics indicated above.

Peasants are to be convinced of the benefit of living in Ujamaa villages in which they will work together for the benefit of all. Peasants should be encouraged to form Ujamaa villages voluntarily:

> Viable socialist communities can be established only with willing members; the task of leadership and of government is not to try and force this kind of development, but to explain, encourage and participate.
>
> . . . it is vital that whatever encouragement government and TANU give to this type of scheme, they must not try to run it; they must help the people to run it themselves.[54]

The process of establishing Ujamaa villages involves two categories of families. The first category consists of family units who show willingness to create a new village. This kind of movement would involve the greater portion of the rural population. Such families would be given the appropriate help to facilitate their movement and settling down in the new villages. The second category would comprise family units who already live together but whose activities are not carried out co-operatively. The introduction of Ujamaa in this situation has a different strategy. Under these circumstances, the peasants would be persuaded to establish communal activities that have an impact on their village life. Such activities may be economic, political, as well as cultural organization, depending on the needs, and the physical and human resources as their disposal.

The Organization of the Ujamaa Village

Apart from living together, the villagers will have to get into Ujamaa activities.

> . . . the essential element would be the equality of all members of the (village), and the members' self-government in all matters which concern only their own affairs. . . The village would elect its own officials and they would remain equal members with the other, subject always to the wishes of the people. Only in relation to work discipline would there be any hierarchy, and then such officials would be merely acting for the village as a whole.[55]

There would be elected committees charged with particular responsibilities within the village. An executive consisting of a manager,

secretary/treasurer and work supervisor would also be elected by the people. The executive members would ensure that the people's decisions are carried out. It would also be their duty to organize general meetings to discuss progress or report on other village issues. Furthermore, the village officials would serve as liaison officers with other nearby villages on matters of mutual concern. They would form a link with the local and central government, and would work closely with the Ward Development Committee.

The Role of the Government

The roles of the regional and central governments fall mainly into two parts: they are to provide extension workers for technical assistance and to co-ordinate village activities pertaining to the whole district.

The Implementation of the Rural Development Policy

Presidential Circular No.1, 1969

This circular set our clear guidelines on how to implement 'ujamaa vijijini'. (Socialism and Rural Development). It laid down clearly the objectives and the appropriate government personnel responsible for their implementation. The Presidential circular states that;

> . . .an accurate description of Tanzania would be that it is a nation of peasant farmers. Our ultimate objective must be to make the description of Tanzania as a nation of co-operative farmers a more true statement. Only when this is done will our people begin to enjoy a reasonable standard of living and the social benefit of living in the twentieth century.
>
> This demands a fundamental change in the rural economic and social organization in Tanzania. It is not something which can be done overnight and it cannot be done by force.

> But it will only be achieved by a deliberate effort to encourage the growth of co-operative production, co-operative marketing and distribution, and communal rather than private expenditure patterns.[56]

The circular also emphasized the organizational flexibility and local initiative and experimentation in the implementation of the policy of rural development. As far as the TANU and Government leaders were concerned, they (the leaders) were expected to fully understand

> . . . both the objective and means by which that objective can be reached; there has to be education of the people by these leaders; and there has to be guidance and assistance to the co-operative groups which are established.[57]

There were three phasis of implementation laid down on the Presidential Circular.

(a) Phase One:

Education and training for the Party and government leaders is a necessity. These leaders must be conversant with ujamaa ideology and the methods of establishing ujamaa villages. It is the responsibility of TANU and Kivokoni College, the national party's ideological institution, to organize orientation seminars for all government and TANU officials at all levels.

(b) Phase Two

The second stage involves leaders taking the ideas to the masses. It means explaining to them and helping them to understand how the policy is relevant to their own needs and desires. The crucial role of the leaders then is to try to help peasants to help themselves in their efforts for development.

> In this work TANU has a prime--but not exclusive-responsibility. Theirs is a job of mobilizing the people, arousing their enthusiasm, helping them to discuss the ideas, and then, with Maendeleo helping them to move from talk to action.

> This does not mean that TANU's responsibility begins and ends with public meetings and loud shouting about ujamaa. It means explaining what ujamaa is and why it is good; it means answering questions; it means organizing small groups of enthusiasts to start. It also means co-operation between TANU, Maendeleo, and all extension staff and rural-based organizations of government and local authorities and voluntary agencies.[58]

(c) Phase Three

This phase involves action and therefore it is the Maendeleo which plays a central role in collaboration with the Regional Commissioners; and Area Commissioners offices. Maendeleo must

> ....give guidance on organizational problems to ensure that the essential services are made available where they do not already exist.[59]

Maendeleo officers, including Regional Commissioners and Area Commissioners,

> . . . will assist the people to work and form plans, production plans, village plans and so on, although it is important to remember that the final decisions on all these points will rest with the groups themselves; the job of government and TANU is to help the people in the making of their own decisions. Maendeleo will also help with the arrangement of credit, marketing and technical advice.[60]

Maendeleo, which is a division within the Ministry of Regional Administration and Rural Development, has a Planning, Research and Training unit. This unit is responsible for the development of ujamaa policies and ensures that the activities in the rural areas are based on ujamaa principles. On research matters, the unit plays an important role

> . . . because it is quite clear that the long-term development of ujamaa policies requires a great deal of technical and organization innovation, and a constant reinvigoration by new ideas worked out in the light of our own experiences and that of other countries.[61]

(d) Maendeleo and its Staff:

The Maendeleo offices in the regional offices are manned by experienced co-operative officers assisted by Community Development

officers whose Ministry has been abolished. The role of the Maendeleo Division is mainly that of co-ordinating the various Ministries which have programs in the rural areas. Maendeleo, including Regional Commissioners and Area Commissoners who also control rural development funds, must also ensure that Ministerial co-operation is maintained.

Policy Orientation

The Presidential policy of rural transformation had far-reaching effects on the life of the peasants. What apparently became crucial was to convince the peasants that the new pattern of life, based on the principles of ujamaa, would improve their economic and living conditions within the rural areas.

At this time, the political campaign intoduced earlier became intensive but the main focus shifted to the peasantry. Party officials, politicians and civil servants were the first to undergo political orientation on the operational policy. Seminars, meetings and conferences became important opportunities for discussion and clarification of issues that emerged from the policy.

Special attention was directed to the preparation of leaders; civil servants and party officials, for local level functions. Political orientation programs for the local level leaders were important because they were to play a crucial role in convincing the peasants of the merits of the ujamaa way of life. They were the leaders who had daily contact with the peasants. They were expected to organize meetings and conduct discussions on the new policy. Essentially the role of the party and government officials was to explain to the people the benefit of living together.

During the first four years after the Arusha Declaration, both government and party leaders were engaged in persuading the peasants to

move voluntarily into ujamaa villages. As expected, the process of creating ujamaa was slow. But the slowness was attributed to organizational problems as well as cultural problems. Peasants generally are suspicious of an outsider who tells them what to do. The peasants' homestead is associated with customs, traditions and religion. The land the peasant tills is part of life and has religious implications. Ancestral worship is associated with ancestral graves which are also part of the homestead. Superstition and witchcraft have always caused conflict between families. The scattered pattern of homesteading is one of the mechanisms of avoiding such conflict.

The social and economic organization of the ujamaa villages will be different from that of the extended family. In the extended family the division of labour is based on sex, and leadership is based on age, while property is communally shared among the members of the family. Moving into ujamaa villages means that the family's autonomy ceases. City life and wage employment are well known and attractive to the peasants. These are the realities which the peasants have to face in considering opting for the ujamaa pattern of living. However, by 1972, there were only 1.5 million people relocated in ujamaa villages as compared with 15 million people in the rural sector.

The Creation of Ujamaa Villages

Creating ujamaa villages was expected to be an educational process in which peasants were encouraged to voluntarily create ujamaa villages. From 1967 the creation of ujamaa villages was, as expected, a slow process. For example, in March 1971, there were 2,600 ujamma villages whose population was 840,000 people. The number of villages created between 1967 and 1971 is shown in Table I

Table I: Number of Ujamaa Villages 1967-71

Date	Number of Villages	Total Population of Villages	Total Population as percentage of mainland total
February 1967	48	5,000	0.04%
December 1968	180	58,000	0.5%
December 1969	650	300,000	2.5%
September 1970	1,200	500,000	4.2%
June 1971	2,668	840,000	6.3%

Source: Ministry of Rural Development Report, Economic Survey 1970-71

The figures in Table I indicate a rather steady increase in the creation of ujamaa villages. But such figures do not give a true picture of the ujamaa villages. Within a period of five years such villages were at different stages of ujamaa development. Some observers, for example, think that by 1968 there were no more than twenty ujamaa villages which had reached a stage of communal production as one of the major criteria of determining ujamaa villages. But perhaps what was important was that peasants voluntarily decided to start such villages.

(a) National Distribution of Ujamaa Villages

Generally the less economically developed areas with enough arable land had more ujamaa villages than those areas which scarce farming land but which were economically developed. Most likely the peasants in the poor areas were highly motivated by the economic benefit from ujamaa villages. Table II presents such a distribution of ujamaa villages within a period of five years. The Mwanza and Kilimanjaro regions are densely populated and economically developed areas. The people grow cotton and coffee as cash crops respectively. Cotton and coffee form

part of the principal export crops of Tanzania.

Table II: Distribution of Ujamaa Villages, March 1971

Region	No. of ujamaa villages	Population per village	Total Population in ujamaa villages	Percentage of regional population living in ujamma villages
Arusha	44	200	9,000	1.3
Coast	58	940	55,000	6.00
Dodoma	150	310	47,000	5.9
Iringa	350	240	84,000	10.8
Kigoma	108	300	32,000	6.3
Kilimanjaro	11	190	2,000	0.3
Lindi	188	420	79,000	18.3
Mara	250	380	95,000	15.5
Mbeya	194	260	50,000	4.6
Morogoro	22	210	5,000	0.7
Mtwara	672	420	282,000	44.1
Mwanza	41	190	8,000	0.7
Ruvuma	120	100	12,000	2.7
Shinyanga	132	100	13,000	1.3
Singida	57	230	13,000	2.7
Tabora	82	240	20,000	3.2
Tanga	146	160	13,000	2.7
West Lake	43	250	11,000	1.5
Total	2,668	315	840,000	6.3

Source: Economic Survey 1970-71

(b) Economic Benefit

It was impossible to determine the economic progress of the ujamaa villages because their activities were only part of the overall programs in the rural areas. Also it was too early, at the time the government compiled its report (1970/71) on ujamaa village progress, to assess the economic gains. But most of all

> . . . the objectives of ujamaa are not purely economic, so that a measurement of financial inputs against financial outputs is not a fair test of the programmes' progress.62

In ujamaa development it is the growth of social relationships among the villagers which is fundamental to economic development.

(c) Socialist Objective

The fulfilment of the ujamaa objective is not determined by the mere expansion of agricultural land and increased production. Rather is must be judged in terms of communally owned items such as agricultural land, the level of co-operation in the villages' activities, the level of communal living, and the amount of participation by the villagers in ujamaa village government. For example, ujamaa villages in Ruvuma (especially Litoa village) and in the Tanga regions, which are national pioneers,

> . . .all are characterized by a high level of ideological committment, strong internal leadership, and closely defined norms and sanctions for maintaining unity. They have a high degree of popular participation in village government, with Village Assembly of all the members as a final authority, and subsidiary committees for various functions such as farm management, accounting, education, health, etc., on which a large proportion of the members, both men and women, are elected to positions of responsibility.[63]

On the basis of the characteristics of truly ujamaa villages like that of Litoa village, an economic survey carried out by the government in 1970-71, resulted in the classification of ujamaa villages into three stages of development. These stages were devised in order to guide financial assistance from the government to the ujamaa villages. the stages in Table III are defined as follows:

> The first stage is a formative one, when the village was just started and has not yet attained social and economic viability. At this stage the major requirements are for long-term investment in roads, water supply, buildings...
>
> The second stage of development of an ujamaa village is reached when the community has gained experience of living and working as a unit, has a workable constitution and has become economically viable. At this point the village registers as an

Agricultural Association and obtains credit from the Tanzania Rural Development Bank.

At the third stage the village becomes a full-fledged multi-purpose co-operative society and has adequate security to attract commercial credit from any source.[64]

Ujamaa villages have been classified according to these three stages and by regions in the following table.

Table III: Stages in Development of Ujamaa Village, by Region

Region	Number of Villages			
	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Total
Arusha	38	5	1	44
Coast	31	26	1	58
Dodoma	132	17	1	150
Iringa	349	--	1	350
Kigoma	93	15	--	108
Kilimanjaro	9	2	--	11
Lindi	162	26	--	188
Mara	226	20	4	250
Mbeya	191	--	3	194
Morogoro	21	2	1	24
Mtwara	651	21	--	672
Mwanza	38	3	--	41
Ruvuma	105	15	--	120
Shinyanga	131	1	--	132
Singida	42	15	--	57
Tabora	35	43	4	82
Tanga	113	32	1	146
West Lake	43	--	--	43
Total	2,410	243	17	2,670

Source: Economic Survey 1970-71

(d) Problems.

1. The cultural aspect, as well as organization, were problems faced in the process of creating ujamaa villages and will be dealt with at length in the next chapter.

2. Motivation was probably the most central problem. For example,

the manner in which an ujamaa village was to be initiated was extremely important. In a situation where peasants voluntarily decided to live and work together, it implied that such people understood ujamaa ideology and the policies which were based on it reasonably well. It meant that the people had committeed self-reliance concepts to ujamaa. On the other hand, as Nyerere pointed out, the biggest problem in the process of creating ujamaa villages was to demonstrate to the peasants in practical terms the social, economic, and even political benefits that derived from living and working together in ujamaa villages.

Ujamaa villages which were voluntarily created became prosperous in terms of steady growth toward socialism and self-reliance. But the experience where forms of coercion, even if reasonably subtle, were used to organize ujamaa villages, showed the extreme difficulty in promoting co-operation other than through entirely voluntary means. As Cliffe comments,

> After nearly four years the villages remain dependent on government assistance and have made very little progress towards social or economic viability.[65]

3. Regional and District leaders were more concerned with quantity than quality when creating ujamaa villages. They were involved in the competition in producing figures that would impress the President. There were many cases where some leaders would quickly organize the peasants to establish ujamaa villages and when the presidential tour was over the peasants abondoned the new villages and returned to their traditional homesteads.

4. The absence of permanent technical assistance in the rural areas left the peasants without help in creating ujamaa villages. This problem is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

5. The problem of local leadership again emerged as there were no systematic training programs for local leaders. This will also be discussed in the next chaper.

Decentralization of Government Administration in 1972

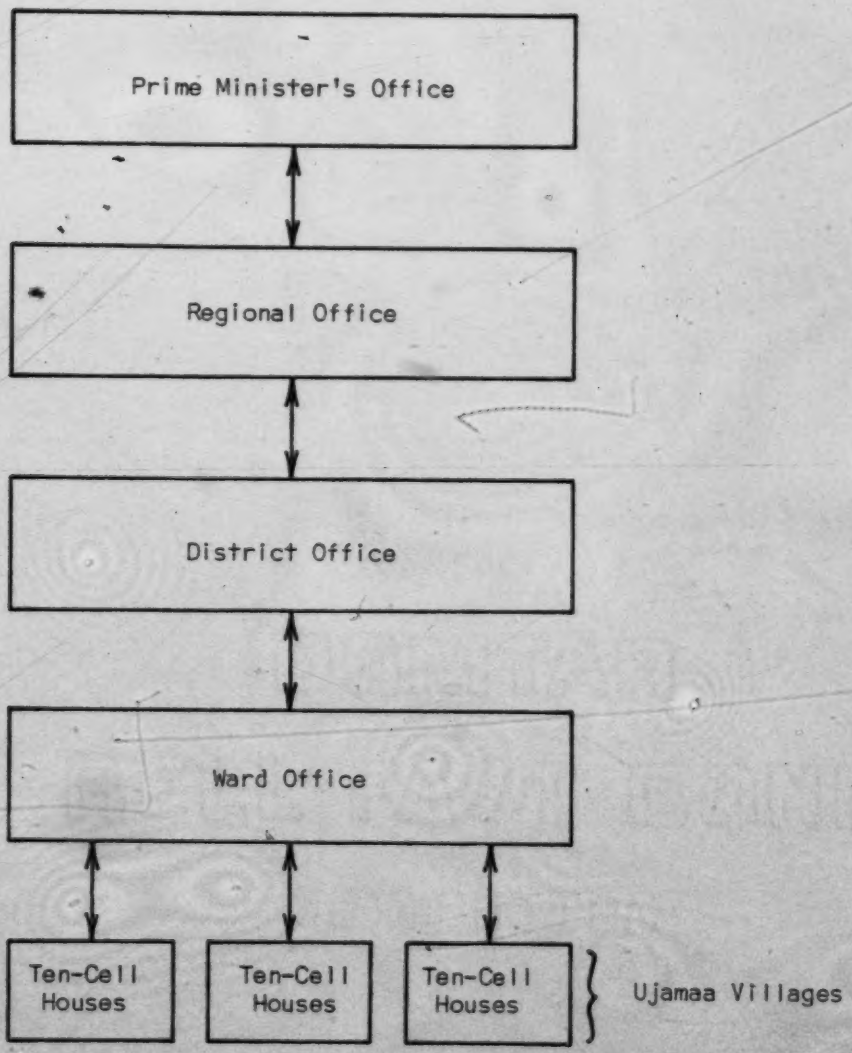
In order to facilitate the functions of ujamaa villages, it has been necessary to decentralize the government administration (See Figure 1) and planning machinery. The system of decentralization has given power to the regions over matters that affect them directly. Senior political officers, as well as senior civil servants and supporting staff, are occupying regional and district positions headed by the Prime Minster's office.

The decentralized administration does not mean the transfer of bureaucratic red tape from the central government headquarters to the Regional and District headquarters but rather reduces the bureaucratic procedures since the people at the local level have the power to control their own affairs. The system of decentralization is meant to facilitate the development of local autonomy. Also, the new administrative structure enables policy and decision-makers to be close to the masses.

Within the new administrative structure, the government ministers are responsible for the overall policy and the provision of technical assistance to the region, and are concerned with national issues. For instance, the Minister of Health is responsible for health matters throughout the country by running the national medical institution; giving guidance to the District and Regions, and helping them as necessary.

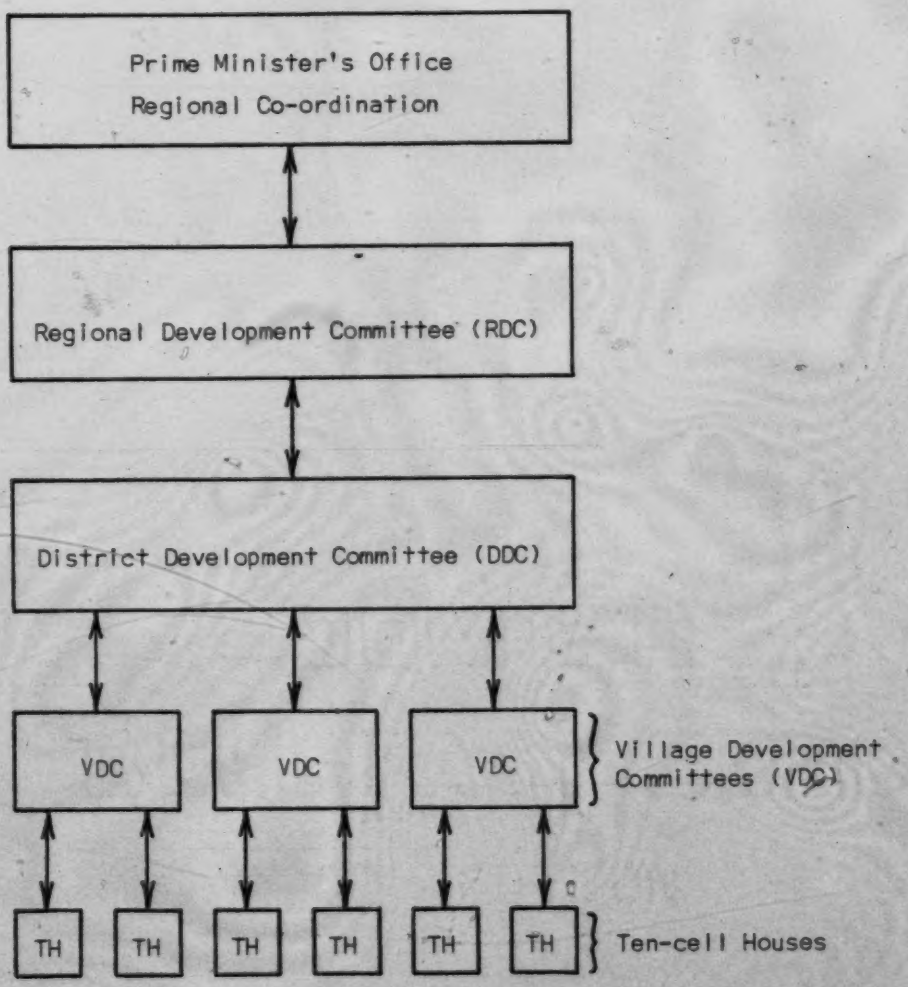
To ensure the flow of communication from the government to the local level and vice versa, decision-making representative organs have been instituted within the regional administrative structure. Development committees have been set up from the village to the regional level: Village Development Council, District Development Committee, and Regional Development Committee. (See Figure 2) Each of these Committees is responsible for matters within its jurisdiction. Such matters may include health, education, and economic and cultural activities.

Figure 1. Decentralization of Government Administration.



Source: Constructed by the author.

Figure 2. Decentralized Decision-Making Structure.



Source: Constructed by the author.

(a) Operation Planned Villages

Table III revealed that by 1971 ujamaa villages which had reached Stage Three were indeed very small in number. The figures in Stage One presented an encouraging response. In the regions an ujamaa village was defined in different ways. In some areas peasants simply lived in proximity without practising any ujamaa principles yet such villages were reported to Government headquarters as ujamaa villages. Discovering this phenomenon, the government established the "stages" crtieria. The result, as noted, was that only a handful of villages were true ujamaa villages, and therfore, the peasants' response to create ujamaa villages was generally poor. This is one of the reasons why TANU (NEC) in 1972 declared that the creation of ujamaa villages in the rural areas was compulsory and that October 1974 was set as the deadline for the peasants to move to these planned villages.

The process of mobilizing the peasants into planned ujamaa villages was carried out within one year. The Regional and Area Commissioners were to make sure that such an operation was carried out according to the TANU directive. It was not an easy task; perhaps the most difficult ever undertaken by the Party and government officials at the regional and district levels. However, by September 1976, there were 6,152 registered villages with a population of 10 million people and a rural population of 13 million people. The breakdown of the villages by region is indicated in Table IV.

Table IV Breakdown of Villages by Region

Region	No. of Villages
Arusha	209
Dar es Salaam	10
Dodoma	331
Iringa	469
Kigoma	145
Kilimanjaro	284
Lindi	254
Mara	270
Mbeya	501
Morogoro	341
Mtwara	462
Mwanza	535
Coast	256
Rukwa	156
Ruvuma	269
Shinyanga	425
Singida	164
Tabora	283
Tanga	299
West Lake	491
Total	6,152

Source: Daily News September 8, 1976

According to the total number of villages and their population, 3 million people within the rural areas were not affected by the 1974 operation planned villages. The process of creating ujamaa villages continues.

Summary

The discussion in this chapter has centred around the building of democratic political institutions that could facilitate grassroots political participation. Secondly, TANU and the government attempted to introduce social and economic change among the peasants.

The inherited colonial approaches to rural transformation were seen by TANU as inadequate. TANU then resolved to experiment with a development approach based on local initiative and self-reliance. What was crucial in TANU's approach to rural transformation was the provision of assistance to the peasants that would enable them to control their own development that depended on local human and physical resources. The building of local political institutions became imperative for village development activities to be planned and implemented democratically. Popular political participation at the village level became crucial as far as social and economic changes were concerned.

The establishment of democratic political institutions at the district, regional and, above all, national level, was equally essential in a one-party state in order to establish close political communication with the grassroots.

However, TANU's experience with the peasant development problems encountered during the colonial era and in the initial stage of independence, gave rise to the introduction of ujamaa or African Socialism. Social, economic and political policies based on ujamaa ideology were introduced. What was imminent in ujamaa policies was the approach of introducing social and economic change in the rural areas. Peasants were to be organized into ujamaa villages; the basic social, economic and political institutions responsible for the welfare of the residents. Such institutions would be autonomous in terms of social, cultural, political and economic matters that affected the peasants directly. Ujamaa then became a model of development which replaced the inherited colonial models of development which alienated the peasants socially,

economically and politically.

The following chapter discusses the problems that Tanzania has encountered in the process of implementing the ujamaa model of development.

Footnotes

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CHAPTER V

PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF UJAMAA AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed how Tanzania or TANU attempted to involve the peasants in the political decision-making process. The establishment of local democratic political institutions was necessary to ensure political participation by the peasants. The introduction of the ujamaa model of development gave the peasants an opportunity to develop social, economic and political autonomy. This chapter discusses the problems which are associated with the implementation of ujamaa.

It is now ten years since the proclamation of the Arush Declaration a new Tanzanian Socialist blueprint based on ujamaa ideology. The ten years have been rich and useful in terms of experiences gained in the process of the development of ujamaa. The result of this formative time is that the people of Tanzania have undergone an ideological-political orientation towards ujamaa. Intensive ideological campaigns provided useful opportunities for the party and government functionaries, the workers and the peasants, to reflect upon the historical and sociological nature of the Tanzanian society in relation to ujamaa ideology. The ideological orientation and the implementation thereof have been carried out simultaneously in order to test ujamaa theories, ideas and objectives;

> Ten years after the Arusha Declaration Tanzania is certainly neither socialist, nor self-reliant. . . Our democracy is im-

> perfect. A life of poverty is still the experience of the majority of our citizens. Too many of our people still suffer from the indignities of preventive diseases and ignorance.[1]

In his discussion of "The Arusha Declaration Ten Years After", Nyerere also indicates some of the basic achievements that the people of Tanzania have realized in the implementation of ujamaa:

> First the foremost, we in Tanzania have stopped, and reversed, a national drift towards the growth of class society based on ever-increasing (social and economic) inequalities and the exploitation of the majority for the benefit of a few.
>
> Secondly, we have established some of the attitudes which are necessary to the development of socialism... Our National Ethic. . . is beginning to be socialist ethic--that is, a concern for the well-being of all rather than a pride in material goods for their own sake.
>
> Thirdly, we have established many of the institutions and worked out many of the strategies, for socialist advance.[2]

The development of a national ethic is crucial as far as the development of ujamaa is concerned. It is the societal major objective and guideline of which social, cultural, economic and political development is based.

Ujamaa becomes crucial, particularly in the rural areas. Ujamaa must transform the social, cultural, political and economic conditions among the peasants. The implementation of ujamaa is even more crucial at the village level. As has been indicated already, more than two-thirds of the Tanzanian rural population lives in the newly-created ujamaa villages. This is an important landmark in the social and political history of Tanzania. It is perhaps one of the few countries in the Third World which has successfully mobilized the peasants, who traditionally live in scattered homesteads, into the new planned settlements. However, what is important is not the movement of the

peasants to the new ujamaa villages, rather it is the peasants' understanding and commitment to the ujamaa ideology, the national ethic and its political ideology. This commitment becomes an important determinant of the social, cultural and political activities in the ujamaa village.

It is the aim of this chapter to critically examine and analyze probles which have arisen in the process of the implementation of ujamaa policies and objectives at the village level. The analysis of the problems is based on the experiences of Mteteleka ujamaa village which is located on the northern side of the Ruvuma region in southern Tanzania, Rungwe ujamaa village, south of the Mbeya region; and Shinyanga. The Shinyanga experiences are based on a comprehensive report entitled "Operation Planned Villages in Rural Tanzania: A Revolutionary Strategy for Development" prepared by Juma Mwapachu,[3] District Development Director.

This report discusses the entire process of mobilizing the peasants of Shinyanga District into planned ujamaa villages. Mr. Mwapachu is the senior civil servant responsible for development matters in this district and also the head of the civil service within the district level. The Shinyanga experience serves as a key reference in the analysis of the implementation problems of ujamaa at the village level.

The analysis of ujamaa problems focuses on the village level and for the purpose of analytical procedure, the chapter is divided into four sections, Ideological Orientation, Ujamaa Ideology and the Concept of Development, Preparatory Organization of an Ujamaa Village, Leadership at the Village Level.

Ideological Orientation

As already noted, ideological orientation was a crucial and determining aspect as far as the implementation of ujamaa at the village level was concerned. The awakening of political consciousness among the peasants was another important aspect in order for the peasants to practice ujamaa ideology. When a group of peasants decided to live and work together, their decision meant a commitment to ujamaa and political ideology that Tanzania attempted to adopt. A ujamaa village becomes a basic socio-economic and political unit. 'Wajamaa' assume responsibility over their own affairs. The peasants' outlook, attitudes and behavior, as a result of colonial conditioning gave rise to a systematic ideological and political orientation in order to counteract such attitudes, behavior, and apathy.

As far as the village level was concerned, ujamaa ideological and political orientation was not planned and systematic. This means, first, that the political functionaries at the village level whose major responsibility was to awaken political consciousness among the peasants, were not systematically trained in ujamaa and socialist-political ideology, working specifically with peasants in the villages. Secondly, political leaders at the village level were, as a whole, poorly trained ideologically and politically, and in general, had limited knowledge of their own communites.

The main method used in the ideological and political orientation as far as the ujamaa villages were concerned was more or less ad hoc meetings in which the village, district and regional party leaders addressed the peasants. The general tendency of the leaders was to

deliver speeches in an atmosphere that was not conducive to stimulating a dialogue.

Another characteristic of village political meetings was that the political leaders , in attempting to convince the peasants of the benefits of living and working together, merely repeated what the President had said or what was written in the books on ujamaa or policies on ujamaa. The colonial type of communication between the peasants and political leaders was evident in this situation. Peasants should be told what to do and also how to do it. The implied assumption here is that the peasants are ignorant about the things the leaders talk about; they must listen in silence and passively absorb what comes from the leaders or experts. As Nyerere points out,

> The truth is that despite our official policies, and despite our democratic institutions, some leaders still do not listen to the people. They find it much easier to tell people what to do. Meetings are too often monologues, without much, if any, time being devoted to discussion; even then the speech is usually an exhortation to work hard rather than an explanation of how to do things better.[4]

A dialogue as opposed to a monologue becomes an important means of communication between the peasants and the government and party leaders. Furthermore, such a dialogue must deal with concrete village issues or problems which confront the wajamaa. In order for such a dialogue to be a reality it must fulfill certain conditions. As Freire indicates, a dialogue cannot exist without "love for the world and men". humility, faith and hope. Above all, as Freire further points out, a

> . . .dialogue cannot exist unless the dialoguers engage in critical thinking--thinking which perceives reality as a process, as a transformation rather than a static entity.[5]

It becomes imperative also that leaders or experts should have

faith in the peasants, that they have the potential to deal with their social and economic problems when given the opportunity, and that the development of political and critical consciousness be fundamental to the process of transforming their social, cultural, political and economic conditions.

Ideological and political education among the peasants in the ujamaa village is a long-term objective. The outlook and attitudes of the peasants; docility, dependence, fatalism, apathy, lack of motivation and aspiration, self-deprecation and helplessness, which is a result of conditioning through a colonial relationship, are serious obstacles to peasantry transformation and must be attacked initially. Such anti-development attitudes should be replaced by attitudes compatible with the development of modern ujamaa villages. A sense of responsibility, self-confidence, a co-operative spirit, and self-perception are attitudes compatible to peasants' processes of development.

Above all, the development of a critical consciousness is crucial, for it enables the peasants to look at the social and economic conditions as not God-given and static. Such conditions are subject to change by the actions of man. It is, therefore, their responsibility to create and recreate the social, cultural, economic and political realities.

Ideologican and political speeches or lectures do not provide the village peasants with an opportunity to build up such attitudes or aspirations. It is the translation of the ujamaa and political ideology into action that enables the wajamaa to build up such attitudes.

Speaking of the Indian peasantry, Narain notes that:

> The problem of development in India's rural context is one of inculcation of aspirations, building up of attitudes and the development of a forward-looking, self-helping and action-oriented bent of mind which, cummulatively, constitutes what may be called the development conscience.

A self-help or self-reliant development conscience should be developed by the wajamaa through action rather than through listening to the experts or leaders. It is the systematic ideological and political education that arms the peasants with such basic attitudes.

The social and cultural activities of the ujamaa village must be planned and carried out systematically. All must be geared towards the building up of attitudes compatible with the village process of transformation.

Typical examples to illustrate ideological problems at the village level are many. A greater number of ujamaa villages were created in 1974. The process of mobilizing the peasants into ujamaa villages in most cases was carried out during the same year. However, the Shinyanga experience in mobilizing peasants in ujamaa villages provides illustrations of some of the typical examples of the ideological problems. This experience in 1974 indicated a lack of understanding and commitment to ujamaa and socialist political ideology among the peasants, village leaders and even the district party and government leaders.

The District Operation Villages Guidelines were drawn up by the District government and party functionaries. This situation implies two assumptions: that the cultural background of the Shinyanga people is similar, and also that the ecological aspects of the district are

the same. This is not true, the district (and this is true everywhere in Tanzania) represents a diversity of cultural and ecological phenomena. The second assumption is that the local level institutions, Divisions and Wards and ujamaa villages were incapable of drawing such guidelines that would reflect their own social, cultural and economic conditions.

This is contrary to the political ideology of a Tanzanian Socialist Democratic society. The entire process of the creation of a ujamaa village is the responsibility of the peasants. The ujamaa village is self-reliant and self-governing.

> The government can help to get such communities established by encouragement, and by giving priority in service to those groups who are committed to this type of development.[7]

Guidelines for the operation villages were to be prepared at the ward level so that, for example,

> . . .the detailed organization should be adapted to the local circumstances--which include an understanding of the people's traditional attitudes as well as the degree of the people's political understanding and their acceptance of this social objective.[8]

The political understanding of the people in the seven divisions in the Shinyanga district is definitely not at the same level. Such an understanding depends upon the degree of political leadership and the level of education at the village level. These two elements are not and cannot be equally distributed throughout the Divisions or villages.

A crucial seminar that discussed the methodology to be employed in the physical movement of the peasants took place at District headquarters. The participants were the government and party officials.

An important decision on who should move first into the planned ujamaa villages was made at that seminar. It was decided by the seminar that the local or village leaders must move first into ujamaa villages. On whatever basis this decision was made, it was made at the wrong place. The question of who whould move first into the new villages, and how and when, would have been more effectively dealt with at the ward level. The ward leaders and their peasants, who were fully aware of the social cultural and economic conditions of their ward, were in a better position to made such an important decision which directly affected them. The negative social implications involved in this process of decision-making will be indicated shortly.

The concept of participatory democracy, which is an important aspect in the political ideology of Tanzanian socialist society, should give the opportunity for the peasants at the local or village level to determine their own affairs. The decision-making process carried out at the government centre, and implemented by the periphery (peasants) has always proved disastrous as far as rural transformation is concerned. It is a colonial approach to rural transformation which is incompatible with the socialist democratic approach to rural development which provides the peasants with political power to control their own development.

Referring to the local political leaders, again in the Shinyanga situation, they showed a lack of understanding of local political power.. For example, a party chairman introducing a District team engaged in the politicization of peasants, to the peasants of one of the communities said. "These are the (officials) who have come from Shinyanga to move you."[9] This statement indicates that there were no

village leaders or peasants reponsible for their movement into ujamaa villages. It was the responsibility of the District officials. Such a statement also indicates that the local leaders and the peasants were uncommitted to ujamaa and the political ideology of Tanzania. The peasants moved to the new villages simply in order to comply with government and Party directives.

Lacking understanding and commitment to ujamaa and political ideology, Mwapachu reports that the peasants returned to their former homes after they had been moved to the new villages. The leaders, in responding to this situation, burned down the old homes to prevent the peasants from returning to them.

> Many more people moved on their own without waiting for government assistance. . . there was news from the neighboring districts that people's houses were being put on fire indiscriminately-sometimes with food and goods inside them. So the people decided not to wait for government help lest a similar catastrophe happened to them as well.[10]

It was the avoidnace of the catastrophe rather than the commitment to ujamaa ideology that moved these peasants to the new villages.

The District Development Director of Shinyanga also discussed the process of politicizing the peasants as an important part of the peasant mobilization in planned villages, a process which was carried out within approximately seven months in 1974.

> TANU and government functionaries at the district, divisional and ward levels were to move throughout their areas of jurisdiction to politicize the masses on the economic, social and political gains of the operation villages.[11]

In order to help the peasnats commit themselves to a political reality, it is not enough to send missions to the peasants and to merely preach to them the benefits of living in planned ujamaa villages

for a period of a month or two. What is crucial here is that political or ideological orientation must become a long term task which should be carried out systematically.

> Short-run political campaigns may occasionally become bad substitutes for long-run political educational work, growing out of close links between leaders and the peasants of the country.[12]

Some of the problems encountered by the peasants throughout the operation, which will be discussed later, are more closely associated with ideological and political problems.

As the Mtetelela ujamaa village, women, as Lewin writes, still work more and harder than men.

> While the men debate enthusiastically it is the women who fall asleep during the ujamaa meetings. . . they have merely worked so hard in the course of the day to make ujamaa a living reality that they are too exhausted to stay awake.[13]

Human equality and dignity is one of the basic principles of ujamaa. It also discourages traditional social inequality based on sex.

These few experiences may represent a general picture of ideological and political problems that have emerged in the implementation of ujamaa in the villages of Tanzania. The majority of ujamaa villages created in 1974, mainly in compliance with the Party directive, may face even more ideological political problems as the Shinyanga experience reveals.

Nyerere's assessment of ujamaa as implemented over the last ten asserts that

> . . .the real failure (in the implementation of ujamaa) seems to have been a lack of political leadership . . . at the village and district levels.[14]

a situation which may imply that the peasants' orientation towards

ujamaa and political ideology has failed because of poor political leadership among the peasants. Systematic ideological and political education is crucially important for the peasants, particularly at this formative stage of ujamaa development. A strategic aspect of orientation is the systematic local leadership development, particularly at the cell unit, a beaic nucleus of the ujamaa village, a subject to be deal with later on.

Ujamaa Ideology and the Concept of Development

In an ujamaa village, economic development is important; but what is more important and fundamental is the development of what may be called the non-economic elements of ujamaa ideology such as the development of the wajamaa's potentialities or abilities to enable them to effectively control their environment. An ujamaa village also provides the peasants an opportunity for the development of political consciousness as well as a democratic way of thinking. Politicization and democratization are also fundamental to the development of ujamaa villages.

> Politicization as it is common knowledge, stands for awareness and interest in public affairs, consciousness of one's rights and attachement to power and its use, or, in one word, political consciousness. Democratization carries further the process of politicization: it is political consciousness creatively imbued with civic consciousness both in conceptual and operative terms. The essence of civic consciousness, in sum, lies in the right ordering of loyalties between the self and the non-self, or distributively speaking, in the realization of one's obligation to the community and in the keen urge to identify one's own interests with community good and to do one's bit in furthering it. [15]

In other words, the development of the community sense and solidarity are also fundamental to the growth of ujamaa in the villages. As far as the social, cultural and economic conditions of the peasants

are concerned, ujamaa living should be conducive to the development in the wajamaa:

> . . . a keen desire for a higher standard of living-- a will to live better and a capacity for self-help and self-reliance: to make village life interesting and forming a career, the reward in which will satisfy the most enterprising among the villagers.[16]

The colonial "improvement approach" to rural development in 1961-66 still has impact on the regional and district leaders' attitudes towards development and peasants. The colonial approach to development in the rural areas merely stressed the improvement of agricultural production in order to raise the peasants' income which correlated with the improvement of the peasants' standard of living. The peasants remained mere recipients of packages of development in terms of modern agricultural knowledge and techniques while they did not participate in the organization and management of the agricultural settlement. Money was the answer to the peasants poor living conditions. Peasants' non-participation in the development of the agricultural settlements was the main cause of the agricultural settlements' failure in spite of large sums of money spent on the schemes.

In the last ten years, and particularly in 1974, regional and district leaders resorted to stress by persuading the peasants to move into ujamaa villages so that agricultural production could be increased. It also makes it easier for them to be provided with public services-- clean water, schools, dispensaries, good roads. etc.

Increased agricultural production means raising the peasants' income level. The economic biased stress in the process of implementing ujamaa is repeating all the old mistakes of which the causes are known.

in Shinyanga operation villages Mwapachu reports that some of the leaders, particularly politicians, went around telling the peasants that if they moved to planned ujamaa villages, the government would provide them with public facilities. Such facilities were immediately asked for after the operation was completed.

Lewin, in his study of Mteteleka ujamaa villages, reveals that the village was much too concerned with agricultural production while facing organizational leadership and social relation problems.

The public mass media played an important role in promoting the economic aspects of ujamaa life--particularly in 1974 (the author was then in Tanzania). When some of the leaders were asked why the peasants were given a deadline to move into organized villages, (his extensive tour of the regions in 1974 gave him an opportunity to discuss operation villages with some of the leaders), reference was always made to the concept of "traditional scattered homesteads" and the most common official answer was that it was impossible to "bring development to the farmers who were scattered. By 'development' the officals meant government provided services..."[17]

Reviewing some of the major articles on ujamaa and Socialism in Tanzania, the general trend of discussion stressed economic development, using ujamaa as a means of attaining such development. Cliffe and Cunningham, two of the notable analysts of ujamaa, stress the economic objective by stating

> If the process (of creating ujamaa villages) is to be voluntary, peasants must thus be convinced that real economic gains can be achieved through larger scale, collective production and the social advantages can be derived from living in communal settlements.[18]

Svendsen and Teisen are even more specific in spelling out the material objectives to be achieved in the process of implementing ujamaa ideology. According to them, such objectives are a matter of urgency.

> Any serious program of rural development must therefore address itself to two major probles. It must promote a development in agriculture production, rapid enough to secure for the rural populations clearly visible gains in material well-being. This means more and better food, better housing, better water supplies, more clothing, more dispensaries next year, not the promise of all these things five years from now. It must also provide for the development of a satisfying social life for the people of the countryside.[19]

To attain such material well-being immediately implies government intervention. It means, for example, dealing with 6,152 ujamaa villages (1976) or ten million people. It means stimulating or creating material needs among the peasants which cannot be satisfied even twenty years from now.

In Tanzania, a country which is economically poor, it would be extremely unrealistic to promise the thirteen million rural people the provision of public services when resettled in ujamaa villages. Indeed, there is no government in any Third World country that can satisfy such material needs. Such material well-being can only be achieved by the efforts of the wajamaa themselves. Economic gains must enhance social relationships, community solidarity, collective ownership and sharing. It is a long term endeavour as well as an educational experience to attain ujamaa life. The social benefits which the authors above may imply (socialist or ujamaa attitudes and skills) cannot be developed overnight.

The over-emphasis on economic benefits that derive from ujamaa

villages, distorts the ideological principles of ujamaa. The three principles of ujamaa, already stated, only imply what happens to wajamaa socially and psychologically. The development of social relationships is what is fundamental to ujamaa, self-reliance and self-determination are other implied aspects of ujamaa. The emphasis on the non-material aspects of ujamaa are indeed even more crucial at the initial stage of ujamaa development. A systematic building up of such a foundation means that the peasants arouse themselves to attack their basic enemies--poverty, disease and ignorance. Any assistance to the wajamaa in their new settlements should be directed particularly at this initial stage to the building up of the fundamentals which are already indicated. It is

> . . .the development of the human being. It aims at developing (the peasants) potentialities and abilities to control (their) environment. It helps (them) in changing (their attitudes towards the community). (They) acquire new skills of association, organization, of communication and controlling the physical aspects of (their) environment. (They) take decisions, initiative and become self-reliant.
>
> Economic development occurs when the individual through (ujamaa) approach implement economic development programmes. Material progress without developing human capacities is temporary and superficial.[20]

Preparatory Organization of an Ujamaa Village

The creation of ujamaa villages in Tanzania is a long-term endeavour. The essence of the process still remains that peasants will voluntarily establish such villages. The densely populated areas such as Kilimanjaro in the northern part of Tanzania and the Tukayu district in the Mbeya region in the southern part of Tanzania, were not affected by the 1974 ujamaa operation. Population pressure over cultivatable land will sooner or later become a serious problem. Other areas must

be explored for new settlements for the peasants from these densely populated areas. This population accounts for over three million people out of a rural population of 13 million people of which 10 million people are claimed to be in ujamaa villages.

The Shinyanga experience in determining the new village sites presented problems, as the District Development Director points out, because of lack of proper preparation as the physical movement of the peasants was rushed in order to make the deadline.

The Shinyanga situation in this particular aspect was not unique. The majority of the rural villages were created in 1974. In October, 1973, TANU National Executive Committee passed a resolution that the creation of ujamaa villages was compulsory. By 1971 Tanzania had 2,668 ujamaa villages (Table II) and in August 1976 there were 6,152 ujamaa villages (Table IV). More than half of the villages were created between October 1973 and October 1974. On the basis of the Shinyanga experience, it is most likely that a reorganization and re-settling will occur again and again among many of the villages in the countryside.

> Villages were sited along roads but not necessarily near the best agricultural land or near permanent water sources. Some villages were too small, while others were so large that some of the farmers had to walk eight miles to get to their fields. By the time these errors were corrected some peasants had moved two or even three times.[21]

The Shinyanga director also reports on the poor choice of sites for the new settlements, particularly with regard to agricultural land and water supply. The Author's own experience in touring several regions in 1974 revealed the lining up of poor shelters along roads as

a common occurrence. These experiences only indicate that the creation of ujamaa villages will continue for some time. The situation also indicates the importance of systematic preparation for the creation of such villages. A discussion on such a preparation follows herewith.

A systematic preparation for the creation of ujamaa villages now appears to be fundamental. A discussion on ideological or political orientation and its weakness has been dealt with already. Ujamaa ideological application should become a process which must fulfil certain steps. The step-by-step process of creating ujamaa villages is critical as far as the cultural, historical and sociological aspects of the peasant life is concerned. The social, cultural, political and economic aspects of the peasant society has already been discussed.

In assisting the peasants in creating a ujamaa village the cultural aspects - traditions, customs, beliefs, values and religion should be taken into consideration. The importance of the cultural aspects is explicitly expressed in the Presidential Policy "Socialism and Rural Development" and in the "Presidential Circular No.1" Cultural diversity in Tanzania is a fact; there are more than 120 tribal societies. Peasants who live in ujamaa communities form a traditional family group whose life is guided by the traditional extended family principles.

> Our organization must allow for flexibility and local initiative and experimentation. Everywhere we must build on whatever co-operative traditions exist. . . (Such an organization) will not only differ between regions and districts, but perhaps also even between villages within one sub-district, . . .[22]

The understanding of the peasant culture is important for government or party officials who help the peasants considering starting an ujamaa village. In order for them to successfully provide such a

help "it is important to know a good deal about their culture and social forms."[23]

An examination of Shinyanga report the cultural aspect of Shinyanga people has not been dealt with although the Development Director admits its importance.

> The village programme was not such an easy development idea to support against the deep cultural values of the people, particularly of the Sukuma tribe of Shinyanga.[24]

The Director also points out that the traidtional leader of chieftains whose leadership was abolished by legislation in 1962 "Still have special place and respect" among the Sukuma people. Some of the leaders, who are now civil servants too, but still recognized and respected by their people as traditional leaders "find themselves in a difficult position when trying to reconcile their roles. They still 'psychologically' believe they exercise royal roles."[25] This psychological aspect may turn out to be true among the peasants who showed reluctance to the movement essentially initiated from the top or outside. Chieftainship has cultural and social implications on the peasantry society.

> Chieftainship shows such a great strength and endurance because it is associated with local religion and magical beliefs, with the tribesman's acceptance of customary law as the only adequate expression of right and wrong. Chieftainship is often based on the Native system of kinship, and it represents the principles of family authority, in an extended and glorified form. It is the embodiment of past history, of all that is magnificent in it.[26]

Magical beliefs, traditional religion, and ancestral worship have a great deal of impact on the social, political and economic elements in a tribal society but even more on the family. Religion, which is a

moral aspect of peasant life, is a "social force which gives the ultimate integration to human culture."[27] Magical beliefs are also cultural forces in a peasant world. They are regarded as supernatural powers that bring about things at which the human power has failed.

> Whenever in a culture full technical control has been achieved over certain processes, magic never enters into the manipulation of such processes. Thus, for instance, magic never occurs in fire-making, in the production of stone implements, in the making of pottery, in cooking, in cleaning, or in washing. But in any type of activity where chance and uncontrollable forces are likely to upset human reckoning, magic invariably comes. . . Whenever magic is carried out on a large scale and on behalf of organized groups of people, magic also establishes leadership, enhances organization, and provides an additional factor in discipline, order and mutual reliance.[28]

Magical beliefs including witchcraft and fatalism are indeed the major obstacles to transformation in peasantry society and must be overcome if ujamaa is going to bring about modern life in the villages. But the crucial question is how to overcome them.

One thing is clear that it is the peasants who should rid themselves of these beliefs and traditions. When a peasant sees that his crops are being attacked by rats or pests, the answer is "Shauri ia Mungu" (it is the wishes of God or spirits) or the neighbors sent them because they are envious of him. Poor rains that can affect crops is a situation that cannot be corrected because nature cannot be fought by looking for alternatives to rectify the situation of poor crops. When children have chronic diseases, some of which lead to early death, the peasants associate the situation with the undesirable conduct of some members of the family or assume that the sick and the diseased have been bewitched by neighbors.

A poverty sticken peasant family is a condition accepted as given by supernatural powers, and which cannot be altered or improved. The peasants under such circumstances naturally turn to the ancestral spirits or medicine man for solutions to some of their pressing problems which their families suffer from. Tribal customs, taboos, magical beliefs, ancestral worship, fatalism and witchcraft have always had great impact on the traditional family's social, political and economic institutions.

It is always tempting for a city or town government and party leaders to regard the peasantry beliefs and traditions as simple primitive problems which can be stamped out simply by legislation or creed or by mounting propaganda against them in the mass media telling the peasants to discard their traditions and beliefs for they are primitive obstacles to modern development. As one TANU Chairman, addressing his people in the village in Rungwe district, put it;

> I have heard that many of you are big witches. Why don't you pull up the weeds in your fields or construct good roads with your wtichcraft? That is much better than killing the children of your neighbours. You people here are wasting time instead of working hard for progress . . . This must make it clear to you that your work lacks good sense.[29]

This is one of the naive ways of approaching one of the fundamental traditional obstacles to modernization. It is here that the peasants need assistance which

> . . .jerks (them) out of his old groove, convince him that improvement (is) possible and kill his fatalism by demonstrating that climate, disease and pests (can) be successfully fought.[30]

Co-operative traditions are many in every tribe in Tanzania. Kazimoto,[31] studying traditional practices of co-operation among the

Makonde in the Mtwara region in the southern part of Tanzania, identified three main co-operative traditions. "Mojaha" is a co-operative traditional practice used by Makonde youth. Each individual youth in a village has his or her plot or small "shamba" (field). The village youth team work on their plots in rotation, "Vyalalo" is a co-operation in which the whole village is involved. The villagers work together in a village communal "shamba" for food reserves. The third co-operative traditional practice is called "Chobukulu" in which a member prepares local beer or food in order to solicit help from other families in the village. The third Makonde co-operative practice is also practised by Ngoni, Ndenleule and Nyasa tribes in Ruvuma region.

The Ngoni tribe had a systematic traditional process of creating a new homestead. When a family required a new homestead, it followed a systematic procedure. The site for the homestead was determined on the basis of a permanent source of water in proximity to the homestead, the availability of enough landing for all grownup members of the extended family, close to the homestead or within walking distance. A homestead was normally built near a stream or brook for gardening and grazing purposes. The second stage was the the new area was cleared for cultivation. The idea here was to test the suitability of the soil for crops. If the field promised good crops, normally after a year or two, the field was divided into plots according to the members (grownups) of the family on which houses would be built. Individual fields for the members of the family were also determined. The third stage was that the whole family was engaged in building the houses, normally during the dry season. It took one or even two dry seasons for this

task. During this time gardens along the stream or brook were developed. When the construction of new houses was completed, arrangements were made for the family to move into the new homestead, in most cases during the dry harvesting season, which was the final stage. Under normal circumstances the process took from two to three years. This is a tragitional practice followed by the neighboring tribes too in the Ruvuma region. It is also common among many tribes in Tanzania.

The Ngoni and Makonde traditional co-operative practice can be adapted and incorporated to enhance the development of ujamaa in the villages. A study of such traditions - magic, witchcraft, religion, fatalism - co-operative traditions, customs and taboos become imperative in the preparation of creating ujamaa villages in peasant society. In the case of Shinyanga, such preparation which proceeds the physical movement, was not done.

Such preparatory study must be carried out by the prospective wajamaa themselves assisted by government officials. It is not a kind of conventional study which leads to the production of documents for the use of government officials. It is the kind of study which is an educational process in which the peasants attempt to reflect on themselves and on their activities. The process through which the peasants gather such information or knowledge about themselves is an important educational experience of knowing themselves and developing a critical perception of their social and physical environment. What is important is that the study is turned to all wajamaa for its educational benefit. It is a study which helps them to envisage a kind of social, cultural, political and economic organization of their new life in a new social and physical setting, the ujamaa village.

If the cultural study is of educational importance to the wajamma in the preparatory stage, it may also include the identification of physical and human resources. One of the important aspects of the ujamaa pattern of living is the pooling together of human resources, energy and initiative for the common good.

Another assumption here is that "communities, however backward they may be, have latent resources which can be activised and tapped for their improvement."[32] The resources may include those available and those potential. Human resources may include the identification of individuals with special skills and knowledge. Individuals with skills in local crafts, carpentry and agriculture and animal husbandry, traditional midwifery and medicine can be identified within the village. In other words, knowledge of every aspect of the traditional life should be explored and studied in light of self-reliance and socialist life in ujamaa villages.

Identification of wajamaa's needs should become part of the study in preparation of ujamaa pattern of living.

Determining the social life in ujamaa villages may become another component of the preparatory study. For example, the question of how to care for the old, disabled, chronically ill, orphans, widows or young children, so that their mothers can participate fully in the village activities may imply the development of social institutions for such purposes. Communal social, cultural, political and economic activities can be carried out efficiently under a well-defined organizational structure. What is implied here is that peasants make an attempt to anticipate the organizational structure of their new village.

in fact, such an organization may start operating even before the physical movement.

Organizational problems were some of the major problems in 1974. Having constructed poor shelters, in some cases poorer than those found in their former homesteads, along the side of the road, peasants remained puzzled, idle and subject to random reactions such as attempting to go back to the former homestead only to find it pulled or burned down. In some cases peasants decided to go and settle in villages which were not affected by the operation. Some peasants were even forced to resume the former homestead's fields, some of which were five miles away.

The Shinyanga district faced serious organizational and social problems immediately after the peasants had moved into the new village.

> . . .some of the problems that arose were extremely serious both on humanitarian grounds in terms of the direct impact on the peasants, and on the production side in that there was not always enough time, after the completion of the operation, for clearing farms and starting cultivation. There were also the (organizational) problems associated with the sudden bringing together of large numbers of people.
>
> One of the major problems when moving people into villages was how to deal with the old people without any family within reach, and the single women living by themselves. How were they to cope with a sudden move to a new place where they had to embark on putting up a new building?. . . there must have been other places where the old and alone suffered a great deal.[33]

Another problem associated with organization was that the peasants were moved at the wrong time; at the beginning of the rainy season so that the peasants were confronted with two problems; the construction of homes as well as preparing the fields, some of which, as noted previously were five miles away.

> The problem arose out of "dumping" people at the village site areas, a result of a rushed-up job. Many villagers, therefore, took the plots on the main roadside and built their houses in the form they wanted. There was no supervision whatsoever in plot allocation and method of building.[34]

The Mtetelaka ujamaa village which is still in its formative stage, also faces organization, ideological and social problems. The organizational aspect of the village relies too heavily upon the leaders who, as Lewin noted, were overwhelmed by fatigue as a result of too much responsibility. Women are overworked as they are involved in communal activities as well as housekeeping and looking after the children. A preparatory study would have foreseen such problems. The concept of sharing responsibility would have emerged and the concept of a nursery institution would have been explored.

A preparatory study which enables the peasants to discover their potentialities, abilities and those aspects of the life which may turn out to be obstacles to their social, cultural, political and economic advancement, may include many other aspect of community life, depending on the peasants' ability and what they want to be emphasized.

A study on population structure may reveal demographic features which may have implications on the social, cultural and economic conditions of the ujamaa village. For example, the study of the age structure of the wajamaa may lead to the consideration of how to look after the old, the widows and orphans, and the provision of educational facilities to the entire population of the village.

Determining the level of education can also bepart of the preparatory study. This is part of the community's human resources.

The importance of the preparatory study is to emphasize that

mobilizing the peasants into villages must go through a process which must start before the physical movement. It is a developmental process which must grow step by step. It cannot start after the physical movement.

By the time the peasants get into the new village, it becomes important that they know who they are, what they are, where they come from and where they are going in terms of social, cultural political and economic aspects of their life. Peasants must realize that they move into the ujamaa village because they want to attempt a new way of social and political life that may enhance their social relations. It is social relations which require learning new social skills and attitudes. The ujamaa village provides an opportunity for the peasants to learn how to work with others. Ujamaa villages should be a "stable self-reliant community with an assured sense of social and political responsibility."[35] In other words, peasants in the new settlement are involved in a process of ujamaa development which

> . . . is, essentially, human development... the goal is to create an atmosphere in which men and women can express their inherent right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness", unfettered by the chains of hunger, poverty and ignorance.
>
> The attainment of that goal must start with the basic needs of the human souls to express, to grow, to build a life that will fulfill his dreams. He needs only the stimulus understanding; the knowledge that others recognize his individuality and respect it; and the guidance that evokes his latent ability to achieve his goals.[36]

Life in ujamaa village presents a new experience to the peasants. Given a situation of self-determination, the peasant now has an opportunity to express himself, reflect on himself and on the things he does. This is contrary to the sociological and historical situation in which the peasants always remained silent and passive in the process of their

transformation. They were treated as objects, subject only to the acceptance of goods and services provided from above which was a paternalistic treatment which Freire terms as "false generosity". Peasants in ujamaa villages have a chance to grow by themselves, to become responsible for their own development, but what they need from the outside is help to equip themselves with the necesssary knowledge and skills to manage their own development.

Ujamaa Village Leadership

The development of ujamaa at the village level depends essentially on the emergence of local leadership. As wajamaa are responsible for their own development and self-determination, local leadership is of vital importance. Such leadership must be developed by the wajamaa for the wajamaa. It should also be ujamaa leadership which fulfills ujamaa principles and socialist goals of ujamaa village and Tanzanian society.

The building up of development institutions in ujamaa village is one of the fundamentals in the implementation process of ujamaa and socialist ideology. Tanzanian social, political and economic development is based on democratic principles. Ujamaa village leadership must fulfill the following objectives.

i promote and ensure collective leadership in the village.

ii leadership that can evoke popular participation in all village activities.

iii leadership that stimulates local initiative and self-help projects.

iv leadership that developes in the wajamaa political consciousness as well as critical consciousness.

v leadership that enhances the development of democratic procedure skills.

vi leadership that provides education for the entire population of the village

vii leadership that is concerned with the welfare of all wajamaa in the village.

viii leadership that promotes co-operative development among the wajamaa.

Leadership Levels, and Training

The fulfilment of these leadership objectives relies, by and large, on two basic institutions, the Village Development Committee and the Ten cell unit. But what is even more important is the quality of the leaders who serve in these institutions. There are two categories of leaders at the village level:

(a) The Party Functionaries, TANU Branch Chairman, and Ten cell leaders.

(b) Government personnel, village development officers, co-operative, agricultural workers, rural aid health nurses, primary school teachers-adult educators.

One of the most important problems facing Tanzania today in the process of implementing ujamaa is local leadership. Nyerere has emphasized the problem of political leadership. This situation evidently reflects the calibre of leaders in ujamaa villages. The higher authorities at the district levels are contributors to the poor quality of local leadership in ujamaa villages. The problem has to do with their attitudes toward the peasants and the conceptualization of development as already discussed. For some leaders, ujamaa villages are created to increase agricultural production; for others, the development of ujamaa is "a prgamatic approach to the immediate problems - increasing agricultural production"[37] and to quickly exterminate the triple enemies - poverty, disease and ignorance.

Although development and democratic institutions are meant to ensure two-way communication between the district and regional officials and villages, the tendency has always been to adopt a downward channel of communication. As Nyerere has noted, it is easier for the leaders to tell the peasants what to do than to discuss it with them. The problem here is that traditional administrative attitudes still exist within the bureaucracies at the regional and district offices which are staffed by senior officers with long administrative experience in government affairs. Batten put it very well by saying that

> . . .there is a strong tradition in most administration (in the developing countries) that it is the job of the government to govern, of senior officers to direct and of junior officers to obey. . .[38]

and for the peasants to listen and carry out what they are told to do because they are ignorant about modern life.

The decentralized system of administration has provided the regional offices with well-qualified and experienced personnel administratively as well as technically. This is one of the weaknesses of the Tanzanian decentralized system. The emphasis of building up strong leadership should have been on the village level. This is because the main purpose of the decentralization is to

> . . .give more local freedom for both decision and action on matters which are primarily of local impact, within a framework which ensures that the national policies of socialism and self-reliance are followed everywhere.[39]

Wajamaa's control over their own affairs means self-governing according to the society's democratic and political principles. It therefore implies the development of strong local leadership at the village level which should be backed by an efficient regional and

district administration.

The need for a strong leadership at the village level is quite obvious as far as the peasants' attitudes, beliefs and behaviors toward modernization are concerned. Historically and sociologically peasants have been conditioned not to be developers of themselves, or, in other words, they have been conditioned not to believe in their abilities to develop themselves and solve their own problems.

For the last ten years no concrete attempts have been made by the regional and district offices to establish a systematic training system of leadership at the village level. Tanzania which now has over six thousand ujamaa villages, faces the most crucial problem of local leadership; a situation which Nyerere himself had admitted.

Village party leaders are poorly trained---some have no training at all. Government personnel, with traditional (academic) training, are poorly trained ideologically and politically.

The Ten Cell Leader

The TANU Ten-House Cell is the lowest basic political unit in Tanzanian society. It is a strategic unit for social, political and economic development. In ujamaa villages its role is of vital importance, for ujamaa village organizationally consists of ten-house cells. Leadership at this lowest but not least unit has great impact on village life.

The cell leader is a person from the village. He was born and raised among his people, he has lived and worked with his people, he had experienced village or rural life and therefore he and his people know each other and share the social, cultural, economic and political

problems of the village or rural life.

As a cell leader he has fulfilled one of the most important qualifications of leadership at the grassroots level. He knows his people from the cultural point of view, their problems and their needs, including felt needs. He or she is a volunteer unpaid worker whose leadership implies that he shoulders his responsibility out of love for himself as well as for his people. His leadership also implies that he believes that living and working together promotes community solidarity in which everyone should be willing to serve the community according to his or her ability.

Fundamental to his responsibility is the ability to arouse political consciousness among his people. He is the facilitator of political development at the grassroots level. A ten-cell unit then is a crucial grassroot institution for the peasants' political education. Apart from his role in political education, the cell leader "must take the lead in initiating actual changes in the life of the people."[40] The ten-cell leader lacks such qualities.

In order for the cell leader to effectively contribute and participate in village affairs, he needs additional qualities of leadership. He needs to have a full understanding of the present social, cultural, economic and political conditions in relation to ujamaa development. He must be committed and conversant with ujamaa ideology and socialist goals of the Tanzanian society. He must have a better understanding of the village's needs and problems that face wajamaa in their village. One who leads others must know where he is leading them to.

Leadership at the ten-cell unit also implies the eight assumptions

and objectives already noted. But apart from these assumptions

(a) he is an elected representative of the ten-cell unit to the Village Development Council.

(b) he looks after his peoples' interests in the VDC. He expresses to VDC what his people need or what problems they face in the village.

(c) he is an important link among the ten-cell units in the village.

(d) he is also an important link between his cell and the village TANU Branch office.

(e) In other words, he represents a two-way communication link between his cell and VDC, other cells, TANU Branch office and external contacts (through the VDC)

The cell leader is experiencing several leadership problems. At Mteteleka village, for example, Lewin noted that leadership was the number one problem in the village. One man's leadership rather than collective leadership was the main problem. Levine,[41] in his study of the ten-cell house system, discovered that illiteracy was one of the problems of leadership at the village level. Lewin and Cunningham[42] simply mention the need for political education for cell leaders. Given the leadership objectives that should be fulfilled at the village level, the crux of the problem is the lack of systematic training programs, particularly for grassroots leadership.

A systematic training equips a ten-cell leader to function in his own environment. Although the central theme of the training for the cell leader may tend to be political education, the leader should be trained how to relate ideological and political education to the needs and problems of the village to the social, cultural and economic activities of the village.

As far as the literature on the ten-cell house system is concerned, cell leaders receive no training or even systematic orientation on their important role in the village. The party leaders main concern has been to help the peasants to establish such cells in the countryside to comply with the Party directive. The mere creation of the cells or VDC without training programs for the leaders who serve in these institutions will weaken or even destroy the system instead of strengthening it. Systematic training for local leadership is an important component and part and parcel with ujamaa development. Because of the absence of training systems for the cell leaders, their role within their cells is limited to that of a political and security watchdog. A cell leader is "supposed to help to enforce laws and regulations (recruitment of TANU members and urge the members to pay their dues in time). . . (he) must expose dangerous characters like thieves and other infiltrators who may poison our nation and put its safety at stake."[43] He settles social disputes and imposes fines in his cell units. "Cell leaders on their own are not often equipped to run such schemes, beyond cleaning footpaths or organizing joint farming projects along traditional lines."[44] Cell leaders are not elected in a democratic manner. The leaders are normally appointed rather than elected, in spite of the Party's directive that cell leaders must be democratically elected by the people. In cases in which elections are attempted,

> Such elections have often been by a show of hands or some other visible means, in which case people may not feel free to vote for the most suitable candidate (in one such case it was suggested that the people voted for pombe (local beer) brewers in order to curry favour with them.) Often the cell leaders are simply nominated from above or chosen without proper elections,

> particularly when a position falls vacant. (In one situation) the Branch Chairman appointed his son-in-law as cell leader, saying that there was no need for election because the cell members had accepted the appointment...[45]

The lack of understanding of the importance of elections and elected leaders among the cell leaders as well as the cell members is an indication of the lack of proper training for the cell leaders who are expected to conduct such elections democratically. This is to ensure that through proper democratic election cell leaders are chosen on the basis of progressiveness, competence, commitment and dedication. This situation also reveals the lack of political and ideological education among the cell members generally. A cell leader should be able to effectively conduct cell elections as well as meetings because these are real situations which provide an opportunity for the development of democratic procedure skills. In other words, they are situations which enable the cell members to exercise their political power. In most villages all meetings are not conducted in a desirable manner. For example, in another village, Levine noted that

> . . . it was regarded as unbecoming for women to participate in the affairs of men, and, at most, the women were allowed to listen to cell meetings from a distance. In some cases cell meetings are attended by household heads only, acting as representatives for the households. . .[46]

The problem here is ideological. Ujamaa ideology emphasizes the concept of equality - that all men or villagers, including women, have equal rights to participate fully in village affairs, including all kinds of cell meetings. Democratic representation is based on the quality or ability of the representative rather than family status or sex.

All these problems point to one vital aspect of the ujamaa village

or ten-cells and that is leadership development, a leadership that is able to politicize and democratize the cell units as well as the village. Leaders must be trained.

Selection of the Ten Cell Leader

Ideally, the cell leader is elected by popular vote. He is a cell or village resident, normally with adult life experience, and is a mature adult. A young, immature cell member is unlikely to stand for such an election. Batten indicates that "village level workers normally have to work among people who traditionally accord respect to age and experience rather than to youth and immaturity."[47] This is very true of tribal societies in Tanzania. Also the level of education of the electee is irrelevant and unimportant in the sense that such a leader will have to undergo leadership training. What is crucial is that he is accepted by the cell members as the right person to work with them.

After all, the issue of the level of education of the village level worker is not a deciding factor.

> Experience in African and Central and South America has already proved that persons who are not matriculates (or even without formal schooling) can become excellent village level workers. And the same is apparently also true in India."[48]

A young 'educated' person, normally educated in the city or town who comes from a different tribal cultural background, is regarded by African villagers as a stranger because his values, manners, attitudes, behavior and dress style differ from theirs. He is naturally unacceptable but imposed upon them. The worker himself has problems adjusting socially, culturally and economically because he has been conditioned

to a different life style, the city life.

Training for the Cell Leader

The kind of training under discussion here is a long-term process. Cell leadership training is part and parcel with ujamaa development in the village. It is a training that must be conducted in the village using real situations, real problems and real people. Conducting cell leadership training outside the village in a town, city, minor settlement or small town, mission or in educational institutions, would present an irrelevant social, cultural and economical environment. There would be irrelevant environmental conditions to the trainees' local conditions. This will be discussed further under government personnel.

As leadership training becomes a vital component of the process of ujamaa development, the content of the training is not exhaustive but certain areas become central to ten-cell leadership development.

Ideally a ten-cell leader is a village "organizer, party disciplinarian, administrator" an encourager, a facilitator or expeditor. Underlying all these aspects of his role, the cell leader is charged with the responsibility of stimulating the development of political consciousness among his cell members.

Political consciousness is reinforced by a democratic way of thinking, attitudes that ensure collective leadership and,

> . . . the realization of each member's obligation to the community and in the keen urge to identify his or her own interests with community good and to do his or her bit in furthering it.[49]

The cell leader must discourage fear to speak among the cell members.

This is very important because peasants have been conditioned by colonial administrators to keep silent at meetings.

> In the past years and centuries, (they) were greatly intimidated and harassed by the Colonists. If you stood before a Colonial leader to speak or to ask him a question, you would be harassed by his juniors, who would ask you why you spoke or ask questions. This practice instilled fear in the minds of many citizens. The people did not respect their seniors; they simply feared them. . . They refused to speak not because they had no problems, but because they were afraid to speak.[50]

This kind of attitude among the villagers can be overcome at regular and democratically conducted cell meetings.

The cell leadership training development may be suggested in the following organization.

Category A: Ideological and Political Training

(a) Ujamaa Ideology and Socialism

(i) Ujamaa and Democracy with special reference to ujamaa village and cell units

(ii) Rural Development Policies

(iii) The role of TANU in Ujamaa and Socialism

Its constitution, its social, cultural economic and political objectives

How and why it attempts to reach the village or cell

TANU structure

(iv) The role of TANU Branch in the village.

Category B: Organizational and Administration Training

(a) Organizational Skills

(i) Sharing responsibility
(ii) Small group organization
(iii) How to conduct cell meetings
(iv) How to conduct cell elections

(b) How to identity village needs and problems

(c) Setting them in order of priority.

(d) How to make presentation to the VDC or other authorities, ideas, suggestions or problems from the cell.

(e) How the district bureaucracies operate in relation to the village.

(f) The role of the VDC in the village.

(g) How to organize discussion on issues, policies and directives from the government and Party or from the VDC.

Apprenticed to a trained village TANU Secretary, cell leadership training must be a gradual process but what seems to be of utmost importance is the emphasis on relating the training to the village or cell real life -- dealing with real village issues. The list of training contents above is only a suggestion. It is extremely important that the village leaders themselves prepare the program with the assistance of the village TANU Branch office, District TANU office and village workers.

The question of covering what goes on and when in such a training procedure does not arise. The training goes on as long as village life proceeds, new issues, ideas, emphasis and changes should be allowed to emerge only to make the training meaningful and beneficial to the welfare of the wajamaa in the village. The cell is a nucleus which gives life to the ujamaa village. Only systematically developed leadership will perpetuate this living nucleus which is the basic crucial unit of the nation.

Extension Workers: Their Role in Ujamaa Development

The development of ujamaa or ujamaa villages depends, by and large, on the extension workers, particularly at this vital initial stage. Undoubtedly their role in the peasant's process of transformation is vital.

The number of extension or village workers for the rural areas in

Tanzania, and other countries in Africa, presents a problem with regard to the rural problems or needs.

> The number of village-level workers required today is still great if any progress is to be made to combat the mass social, health and nutritional problems, and to raise the basic levels of living in the rural areas (in the third world countries) in which the bulk of the pupulation reside.[51]

The number of village workers also depends on national economic resources. A poor country like Tanzania is economically hampered in recruiting a sufficient number of village workers for the size of the rural population and the types of problems prevalant. But above all, the problem is aggravated even further in determining the quality of such personnel to work with peasants whose life styles are still predominantly traditional.

Selection of the Village Workers

(a) Village Development Officer. He is normally appointed by the District Development Officer and is usually an experienced civil servant, a school teacher, former sub-chief or clerk, etc. His educational level is normally a primary education with some training in a specific field. He is essentially responsible for development matters in the village and therefore he co-ordinates government departments' functions which are represented by their field workers; school teacher, agriculture, co-operative workers and rural health aids.

(b) Village Extension Workers. They are technical workers, specialists in agriculture co-operatives, (primary) education and health. They have grade VII (primary) or XII education with training in specific fields. The selection of the village technical staff is

essentially based on competitive examinations in grades VII and XII and the availability of positions in the villages. The selection of students for the various training institutions, particularly those of grade XII, is carried out by the Ministry of National Education. In terms of policy, secondary and university education in Tanzania is geared toward the fulfilment of manpower requirements. Rural manpower takes a first priority.

Professional training institutions are mainly in urban settings--cities, towns and small towns. This is true in terms of the allocation of secondary schools, the recruitment sources. The nature of education in the secondary schools is essentially academic and theoretical. The situation in regard to the training content of the professional institutions is of a technical nature, and, in most cases, is theoretical in the sense that the studies are not dealing with, say, real village problems or real situations.

Yet these young well-educated (in comparison to the peasant's level of education) persons are prepared to work in the villages. There are three assumptions here on which the professional training is based. The first assumption is that a young person with both academic and professional qualifications is appropriately equipped to help the peasants to translate the rural development policies into practice, a situation which will change the traditional life of the peasants to a modern life style. The second assumption is that such trained young personnel are equally equipped, apart from their ability to deliver modern knowledge and techniques, to handle local village problems which peasants face from day to day. The third assumption is that the village worker is

familiar with the social, cultural, political and economic conditions of the village to which he or she is posted.

Problems which Arise from These Assumptions

In the first assumption, secondary school curricula are universal as they are centrally prepared. It is true that attempts have been made to relate the cirricula to Tanzanian reality as opposed to the colonial type of education which was relevant to the British Colonial society. But such educational relevance is too general to cater to regional, district or village conditions which vary greatly in Tanzania. Secondary education under the present situation faces a crucial problem in relating its curricula to village life.

The introduction of political education into the entire school system is aimed at politicizing students, to arouse their political consciousness, build up socialist attitudes, aspirations and values. But again, the same problem crops us, that is to realte political education to the real village life. Furthermore, political education is treated just like other subjects, like history of geography and so is taught in the same way. Dr. Bacchus' recent "Report on Recent Educational Developments in Tanzania" noted the problem of teaching Political Education in the school system to which he recommends,

> It would be an excellent idea to attempt to tie political education with some sort of practical political activity so that students develop not only a sense of commitedness to the knowledge about political systems including the philosophy and goals of the nation but also some skills which are necessary to function effectively in the political system--skills like working together with other groups in the community.[52]

The development of such political skills in a real situation, the

community or village, is impossible as Dr. Bacchus remarks again:

> Secondary schools (in Tanzania) are furthest away from the ideal of school/community integration mentioned in the government policy statement on education. Their very location outside the centres of population encourage both physical and psychological isolation and in line with current thinking in Tanzania some attention needs to be focussed on how the involvement of secondary schools with community activities could be increased.[53]

Professional training centres are national institutions and therefore their curricula are standardized so that curriculum objectives and the teaching contents are more or less the same. For example, agricultural institutions train extension workers to deliver modern agricultural knowledge and techniques to the village peasants with the purpose of increasing agricultural output. However,

> There is no great difficulty in providing (the trainees) with equally relevant experience for such 'practical' subjects as agriculture, animal husbandry, health and home economics, but it is more difficult to provide them with really useful experience of working with people.[54]

The location of the institutions "outside the centres of population" makes is even more difficult to relate the teaching to real village situations.

The second assumption is ruled out because the trainer is trained outside the village. The nature of the training program, the teaching methods, does not deal with the real issues even if such institutions are located among the villages.

In regard to the third assumption the situation seems to be even more difficult as far as the effectiveness of the extension worker is concerned. Cultural and ecological diversity in Tanzania, as already indicated, is a fact. The policy of "Socialism and Rural Development" also emphasizes that the cultural and physical conditions must be taken

into consideration in the process of implementing ujamaa and socialism in the villages.

At the completion of their training, a teacher, a nurse or co-operative worker must be prepared to work in the village anywhere in the country. For an agricultural extension worker, for example, chances are that he would be posted to a village outside of his home district and region. He would be dealing with people whose cultural and social backgrounds are different from his. He is not familiar with the economic and ecological conditions of the new village.

The importance of cultural elements, traditonal values, beliefs, magic and fatalism among the peasants has to be noted in relation to the process of rural transformation.

These three assumptions raise two basic questions: who is to be trained as an extension village worker? How can he be trained effectively? What should the nature of the training program be in order to fulful ujamaa socialist leadership at the village level?

The weakness of the village level workers' training system is two-fold: trainees lack "experience of working with people" or to put it in a slightly different way, the trainees lack the experience of working with adults. Secondly; relating to the first weakness, the trainees are not provided with training in human relations. As we have already seen, what counts most in the development of ujamaa (in the village) is social relations that emergy among the wajamaa, for the ujamaa way of living is based on co-operation.

Moreover, the role of the extension worker should aim at the development of ujamaa,

> . . . by bringing about not only the education, economic sanitary and other improvements of the villages, but also by revitalizing the spirit of the people and making them self-confident and self-reliant.[55]

The agricultural and co-operative workers engagement in rural transformation are also involved in human development rather than the mere provision of technical knowledge. As educators, their basic role is not

> . . . to preach but to get down to the level of the villager and create a desire to learn. (They) must be able to stimulate and create desires, (they) should be able to engender a spirit of willingness, a hope for the future, a concern for the welfare of his fellow men. . . In order to be able to create such spirit he must himself have it first.[56]

In order for the ujamaa village worker to work with the wajamaa effectively he must have a good understanding of peasant life. For example, the understanding of the cultural elements, social and personality characteristics, of peasant life is extremely important and must be emphasized again. For example, fear, as noted earlier, prevents the peasants from speaking their minds, an attitude they acquired during colonial times. Fear is an indication of a lack of self-confidence, lack of trust in one's own capacities. It is an attitude of dependence.

The peasant has been conditioned to believe that a civil servant, an educated man, is an intelligent person who knows everything. He has the answers to all his problems and whatever he says is taken for granted.

> Sometimes you hear people talk about themselves as being simply ordinary men, they think their leaders know everything. When you talk to them and explain an issue to them, they will simply say, 'what can we say?' You leaders know everything.[57]

This is a situation which a health nurse may also encounter in her attempts to provide health education to the peasants in the village.

In the presence of an outsider, an educated person, peasants resort to keeping silent and in some cases, such a silence may be misunderstood as stupidity, foolishness, indifference or even apathy. Fear and silence in this context, are peasant characteristics reinforced by the "educated" through their attitudes and behavior towards peasants. An agricultural worker may speak to a peasant in an authoritarian and arrogant manner, in a way to display the knowledge and skills which he has acquired in school in order to make the peasant believe that he is a man of knowledge and "wisdom".

Referring to the concepts of magic or fatalism again, an adult educator cannot simply ask the peasants to stop believing in magic, fatalism and witchcraft and preach to them the role of science and technology in social, economic and political development. As Freire puts it,

> The answer cannot lie with those extension agents who, in their relations with the peasants, mechanically transfer technical information.
>
> Magic thought is neither illogical nor pre-logical. It possesses its own internal logical structure and opposes as much as possible any new forms mechanically superimposed. Like any other manner of thinking, it is unquestionably bound not only to a way of acting but to a language and a structure. To superimpose on it another force of thought, implying another language, another structure, another manner of acting, stimulates a natural reaction: a defensive reaction in face of the "invader" who threatens its internal equilibrium.[58]

The mechanical transfer of knowledge or information under the cover of rural transformation is now apparently known to be one of the major obstacles to rural development in the Third World Countries. The Tanzanian experience in village settlement schemes in the early

1960's encountered the same problem when money and technical knowledge were the solutions to the poverty stricken rural population. What seems to be crucial here is the relationship that emerges between the peasants and the extension agents in the process of imparting knowledge, or in other words, the method of imparting such knowledge.

The underlying assumption in the mechanical transfer of technical knowledge or health education to the peasants is that, in simple terms, a peasant is ignorant, ready to be filled with knowledge about his environment. Philosophically, Freire, using the concept of banking education, describes this situation more vividly.

> Implicit in the banking concept is the assumption of a dochotomy between man and the world, man is merely in the world, not with the world or with others; man is a spectator, not a recreator. In this view man is not a conscious being . . .; he is rather the possessor of consciousness; an empty "mind" passively open to reception of deposits of reality from the world outside.[59]

A peasant lives with reality, he interacts with his physical and social environment. He acquires knowledge about things around him in real terms. Peasants "live in daily familiarity with the soil: the world of trial and error, commonsense and common wisdom."[60] The peasants' knowledge of agriculture has social, cultural and ecomomoc implications.

> The knowledge of the peasants, which is experiential (it cannot be otherwise) is conditioned. For example, their attitudes towards erosion, reforestation, seed time or harvest (precisely because they are part of a structure and not isolated units) have a relation to peasant attitudes to religion, to the cult of the dead, to the illness of animals, etc. All these aspects are contained within a cultural totality. As a structure, this cultural totality reacts as a whole.[61]

This illustrates that modernization in the world of peasants is not a matter of purely technical procedure or a mechanical process.

A peasant cannot be treated merely as an object, subject to persuasion or manipulation. As Freire has indicated, a natural reaction of resistence to the imposition of anything that comes from outside his world in inevitable.

> (The) extension agents can "communicate" only by entering the cultural universe of the peasants. This they can do only by becoming vulnerable and by ratifying the reciprocity which their role as genuine educators dictates.[62]

Ujamma village workers must adopt a different method of working with the Wajamaa. They must establish a new type of communication; a reciprocal dialogue with the peasants. In this kind of communication, mediated by knowledge about the environment, both the extension agent and the peasants learn together.

In dialogical communication the extension agent no more claims to be the custodian of knowledge, a situation that encourages a monologue type of communication. A dialogical approach to extension work, enables and encourages the peasant to talk back to the extension worker, to speak his mind about his problems and needs and, above all, share his learning experiences with the extension worker; a situation that has been historically denied to him.

The role of the village worker further changes; he raises questions, rather than giving answers, he stimulates discussion rather than lecturing, preaching, or issuing communiques, he poses problems based on real village issues, or, in other words, real village issues are dealt with in the educational process. He makes no distinction between theory and practice in regard to village issues. Village workers who are also educators should:

> . . . abandon the education goal (to use the concept of banking education again) of deposit-making and replace it with the posing of problems of men in their relations with the world. Problem-posing education, responding to the essense of consciousness--rejects communiques and embodies communication.[63]

The ability of the village worker, therefore, is not determined by the mere mastery of knowledge and skills in a particular field. "The mark of a successful (village worker) is the ability to dialogue with (wajamaa) in a mode of reciprocity."[64] This implies that the village worker must acquire appropriate attitudes and social skills--skills in human relations to enable him to work with peasants in ujamaa villages.

A summary of the three assumptions on which professional training for village workers is based in Tanzania is as follows:

(a) The nature of the training program does not provide the trainees with the experience of working with adults, or, in other words, the subject matter does not deal with real life situations. i.e. ujamaa village.

(b) The training program lacks one of the crucial components--human relations. The development of social attitudes and skills that enable the village worker to effectively work with peasants or wajamaa.

(c) The training program is essentially concerned with providing the trainees with technical knowledge and skills which are to be passed to the peasants in order to improve the economic conditions. It does not equally equip the trainees to help the peasant to develop social attitudes and skills to enable them to work co-operatively for the common good; instill in their minds a sense of confidence and self-reliance.

(d) In the process of ujamaa development or rural transformation,

the ujamaa village workers must fully understand the peasant way of life, the cultural and social aspects which are often the stumbling blocks to rural modernization. This is not included as one of the essential components of training programs.

(e) Trainees are trained how to deliver knowledge and skills to the peasants in a mechanical process in which the peasants are expected to passively accept what is given, a situation which prevents them "from becoming the subject of (their) own transformation."[65] The mechanical transfer of knowledge to peasants has always been rejected by them. A dialogical approach to peasant transformation seems to be appropriate for both the village worker and the peasants. In this type of relationship both the educator and the educatee are involved in a "problem-posing" type of education.

(f) The location of the training institutions and the nature of the training programs are not conducive to the preparation of ujamaa village workers. It is difficult for the national curricula to look after the great diversity of local social, cultural, economic and ecological conditions of Tanzania.

(g) In most cases the village workers are too young to work with village adults. "It is dangerous to recruit (very young village workers) direct from school, since the village people may object to ebign told what to do by mere youngsters."[66] Age grade cannot be disregarded in the traditional tribal societies for it is an important social aspect in these societies. When the government sends a young village worker to the village, in most cases the villagers would pretend to receive him with open arms; after all he has been sent by the

by the government. The government officials take for granted such a reception. Sometimes peasants may not even talk about the age of the worker. But to them it is a cultural belief not to take for granted what come from the young or from an outsider. After all, the village worker adopts a monologue type of communication or relationship that prevents the peasants from speaking their minds.

The New Role of the Ujamaa Village Workers

(a) Distribution of Ujamaa Village Workers

The importance of village workers has been noted earlier. It is particularly at this formative stage of ujamaa development that agricultural and co-operative workers, adult educators, and health nurses are in greatest demand. Every ujamaa village must have them if ujamaa development is to be taken seriously. These workers must live in ujamaa villages rather than in small towns as has been the case.

(b) Recruitment and Training

The training programs need restructuring so that theory and practice become equally important. Apart from training the village workers in technical knowledge, there is a need for training in organization and social relations skills. A study of the peasant way of life and the social and cultural aspects must be equally important components of the training programs. What is vital in the village worker's role is the development of social relations among the Wajamaa. Such development must be stressed throughout the training program. Social attitudes and skills for working with people, attitudes of co-operation, sense of confidence and self-reliance are inportant

characteristics that the trainees themselves must develop in the course of their training.

Given a new type of training programs, it becomes necessary that the existing village workers should be retrained through in-service courses.

Regarding recruitment of village workers, a new system must be instituted. Mature persons only must be recruited as village workers. Such persons must have some experience in working with peasants in any capacity, or live in villages and experience village life. Such persons, with at least primary education, are not hard to find in the rural areas today. Primary school teachers, traditional midwives, TANU Youth League members, peasant farmers, small rural business men, etc. are potential trainees. Secondary school graduates who are interested in working with the peasants are required to work with peasants in ujamaa villages for a period of time before they are selected. They have to mature first and demonstrate their worth. As Batten comments,

> It is worth noting that men who have been selected for training because (of their previous experience in rural life or working with peasants) will need supplementary experience much less than young trainees who have been recruited straight from school, and with little or no adult experience of village life. It is here in particular that the weighting of selection in favour of maturity and previous experience can greatly ease the training problem.

Another point must also be stressed; although the trainees fulfil village experience qualifications, their training program should emphasize on-the-job training. In the present siutation, the on-the-job type of training has to be organized by the existing national institutions with the help of the existing village workers. When local

ujamma village leadership foundations have been established, village level workers' training will be the concern of the ujamaa village and the District Administration.

The Existing Village Workers' New Role

Apart from their technical role, as well as helping the peasants to organize their social,cultural, political activities and building democratic institutions, the ujamaa village workers most important new role involves the development of local ujamaa village leadership. In the process of ujamaa development, as already noted elsewhere, Wajamaa in the villages have opportunites to development of their own abilities that enable them to control their physical and social environment. The ujamaa village as a growing self-governing unit attempts to maximize the human and physical resources for the common well-being of wajamaa. It means practicing co-operation, self-confidence, self-reliance and democracy. The presence of village workers in the ujamaa village at the present time facilitates, and encourages such growth towards self-determination.

The recruitment of trainees must be done by individual ujamaa villages. In other words, the selection is done by the villagers with the assistance of the village workers, co-ordinated by the village development officer and the TANU Branch Chairman. Under the existing circumstances, the national institutions, through the District administration office will provide assistance if ever required. The national training institution's co-operation would be needed because part of the training will still take place at these national institutions for some time.

The village workers, the village development officer and the TANU Branch Secretary are normally persons from outside the village. They are sent by the District Development Officer and the TANU district office respectively. The training program would involve three categories of leaders: the TANU Branch Chairman, ten cell leaders and the village workers with specialization in agriculture, co-operatives, health education or nursing and adult education.

In the initial training program which takes place in the village, the selected village worker, including the village development officer trainees would be 'apprenticed' to the trained village workers and the village development officer. The ten cell leaders and the TANU Branch Chairman would be 'apprenticed to his secretary who is trained in the way already discussed under ten cell leadership. This structure of a training program does not imply division. The village development officer, the village workers and the village TANU Secretary would naturally work together as a team; as individuals who form part of the ujamaa village.

On the basis of an ujamaa village being autonomous or self-governing and legal unit, the development of local leadership within the village is of vital importance. Therefore the presence of government village workers should be temporary as far as their suggested new role is concerned. The village workers are civil servants, employees of various government departments. Each village worker is loyal and responsible to his department, he works in the village to promote its interests. "He has to conform to a programme transmitted to him from above, and he has to satisfy his superior officers that he is doing his

best to carry it out."[68] It is his employer who looks after his welfare while he is in the village, and his job is the source of his income and security. For the village worker to conform with his employers program rather than the needs of the village seems natural to him. Co-ordination of government activities at the village level is another problem. Unco-operative departmental attitudes are common for every department wants to implement their programs and attain tangible results in the villages. The situation becomes competitive rather than co-operative.

Rural life in Tanzania is not attractive to most of the village workers trained in urban settings. Some workers are in the villages merely to earn an income. For such workers, conformity to their department's programs is an important means of maintaining their jobs. In Tanzania, where ujamaa development enables Wajamaa to control their own affairs, the continuous role of the government village worker presents a problem. The role of the village worker in the ujamaa village should then be temporary so that it is consistent with the philosophy of ujamaa development and self-reliance.

When a village worker is one of the Wajamaa his role would be to attempt to contribute as much as he can for the common welfare of the wajamaa. The social and cultural adjustment problems that the government village worker faces do not arise any more. Department co-ordination problems disappear as well as the prevalent peasant attitude of suspicion of an outsider. It it suggested that as local leadership emerges in ujamaa villages the role or influence of the government village workers must be gradually withdrawn. Training development will

continue but would be the responsibility of ujamaa villages, the district administration and the national training institutions. "Apprenticeship" type of training would continue but would be supplemented by residential training in the national institutions.

The Chinese Experience

The Chinese society is different from the Tanzanian society in a number of ways. They differ in their social, economic and political backgrounds. However, their models of rural transformation have some similarities. The Chinese peasants, for many centuries, were subjected to imperial control and exploitation as well as to foreign cultural influence. The Tanzanian peasants were subjected to colonial domination.

Although colonial domination in Tanzania was comparatively shorter, it had far reaching effects upon the cultural, economic and political conditions of the peasants. Furthermore, both models commenced under the following conditions: the bulk of the population resided in the rural areas; a high rate of illiteracy; the extended family was the basic social and economic unit; the peasants's main livelihood was agriculture; there existed social and economic dualism between the rural and modern sectors; traditional ways of life were prevalent and poverty, ignorance, and disease were basic and serious problems in the rural sectors. The creation of ujamaa villages and communes was accompanied by the introduction of change in the social, economic and political institutions. Some of the traditional roles and principles were activated to guide ujamaa villages and the commune ways of life.

Some of the problems that China experienced at the initial stage of the creation of the communes were organization and lack of commitment to the co-operative life in the communes. Like the Tanzanian situation, motivation or incentive became the most crucial problem. No experience was available to demonstrate the social and economic benefits deriving from communal life in the communes. The solution to the organization problem was the emergence of local leadership, while the problems of commitment and motivation, political education or ideological orientation and moral incentives were employed to solve such problems.

The historical social relationship that both the Chinese and Tanzanian peasants had experienced during the imperial and colonial domination left the peasants without a sense of confidence, autonomy or self-determination. The development of "political consciousness" in the peasants was fundamentally essential to restore the lost confidence and self-image.

Tanzania, like China, should exphasize moral as opposed to material incentives. The final objectives of ujamaa life is "the human factor even in the pursuance of economic development". Opting for material incentives, according to the Tanzanian situation, would be economically unrealistic and ideologically contradictory. Living together, working together and the idea of sharing what is produced by ujamaa villages must serve as moral incentives.

As we have seen, the development of local leadership in the Chinese communes is one of the fundamental aspects that has ensured a systematic growth of the communes. The development of local leadership is a

response to the principles upon which the communes have emerged. Self-reliance, self-determination and autonomy are the major characteristics of commune life. This is true for ujamaa villages which are expected to exercise control over their own lives. China emphasized the emergence of local leadership right from the beginning of the creation of the communes. The political leaders of the communes were conversant with Chinese political ideology.

One of the fundamental responsibilities of commune leadership is to ensure popular political participation or representation. Mao's directive on local leadership is explicit. The leaders of the communes are expected to know more than their followers. The leaders should be clear about the commune's goals and objectives. Further more, Mao stages that ". . .to be a "squad leader" the secretary must study hard and investigate thoroughly." Tanzania, which faces the problem of local leadership, calls for, as does China, a building-up of strong and effective local leadership.

Local leadership training is also important in the development of communes. Essentially, leadership training takes place in the communes where prospective or elected leaders are confronted by real problems - a situation that emphasizes the importance of learning through living or by doing. Training, particularly of a technical nature, is supplemented outside the commune, and is short and emphasizes local innovations or self-reliance. This kind of training has enabled some of the communes to develop faster socially and economically. Tanzania is in great need of this kind of leadership particularly at this initial stage. Local leadership development should take place in ujamaa villages.

innovative types of training are also essential.

Through local innovations or dependence upon local human and physical resources, most of the communes in the country with the largest population in the world have fulfilled the basic needs such as clothing, housing, medical and education facilities. One of the spectacular things introduced into the rural health services in an attempt to solve rural health problems, is the concept of "barefoot doctors". Aquiring the conventional doctors for the communes in China would be un unrealistic dream so the answer is to turn to local human resources.

> As for medical facilities, each brigade boasts a well-equipped out-patient clinic, and the commune has a large modern hospital. . . In addition, each production team has its own health station with "bare foot doctors" and such other paramedical personnel as midwives, herb specialists, and acupuncturists to handle minor problems and preventive medicine.[69]

The role of the health station as indicated in the above quotation is extremely important for it deals with the preventive aspect of the medical services. Tanzania, and other developing countries, face serious health problems and the provision of preventive medical services is crucial. China provides an experience for reference.

Technical skills for rural development in China are vital. But such skills should emerge within the communes. Communes select their own people for further training in specific skills needed by the communes. Primary education, which is under the control of the communes, becomes another vital source of human resources. Communes select their own children for further training so that on their return to the communes, they are in a better position to provide service to their

people as members of the communes. Ujamaa villages in Tanzania too are in great need of technical skills, teachers, agricultural experts, nurses and co-operative workers, and other technicians. The ujamaa villages, as in the communes, provide the opportunity for the development of such skills among the 'wajamaa'.

In sum, the Chinese commune experience has demonstrated three important things; politicized organized peasants can be made to be responsible for their own development; secondly, the development of the attitudes of self-reliance and co-operation has enabled the Chinese peasants to satisfy themselves with the basic needs such as clothing, food and shelter within approximately a decade. For centuries the Chinese peasants had been victims of poverty, disease and imperial exploitation. These were great obstancles to the fulfillment of the basic needs. Thirdly, moral incentives have been the central nerve of the commune life. Tanzania, therefore, can learn a great deal from the Chinese experience in terms of these three aspects.

Summary

This chapter has identified three main problems that Tanzania faces in the process of implementation of the ujamaa model of development. There is a lack of systematic ideological orientation for the peasants who have shown reluctance to settle into ujamaa villages.

The second problem is organization. The process of moving the peasants into ujamaa villages was not systematic. A carefully planned movement would have enabled the presants themselves to carry out the process rather than the government and party functionaries.

Local leadership is the third problem. Local leadership is the

most determinant factor for ujamaa development to succeed. It has been noted that there has been no systematic local leadership development. There has been no leadership training policy for guidance. Generally, at this stage of ujamaa development, ujamaa village leaders, particularly those who assume political leadership which is the most vital to ujamaa life, are poorly trained, or, in most cases, they function without any training or guidance in carrying out their functions.

It has been suggested that these problems can be solved by carefully and systematically planned ideological orientation for the peasants and particularly the local leaders. Secondly, it is the political consciousness of the peasants which will enable them to create ujamaa villages. But the process of creating ujamaa villages should be carefully planned and carried out by the peasants themselves. Systematic training of local leadership is the answer to leadership problems. The ten-cell leaders should be the main focus of training programs.

Finally, in order for ujamaa development to succeed, the following three things should be emphasized: moral incentives should be reinforced by politicization, self-reliance in local human resources and political education. Tanzania can learn much from the Chinese experience.

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CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary of the Study

Tanzanis's indigenous political development which has had far-reaching effects on the peasants' social, cultural, economic and political outlook, has dominated this study. The peasants' political awareness began during the colonial era as a reaction against the colonial administrative structure, the indirect rule which placed them in a position in which they remained passive, and subject to exploitation. They reacted against imposed economic changes and their implied colonial values.

The peasants' explicit reaction to colonial administration was their rejection of the colonial agricultural regulations, imposed in the 1930's and 1940's, and geared to improve agricultural economy. The colonial land policy introduced in the 1940's also stimulated strong opposition to the colonial approach to rural transformation. The peasant's opposition to colonial administration and its approach to rural transformation gave impetus to political unity which the local political movement was striving for. Since the colonial era, TANU has become the peasants' spokeman and defender of the peasants' right to self-determination and responsibility for their own development.

Towards the end of the colonial era and at independence, TANU was dissatisfied with the colonial approach to rural development. Peasants were presented with ready-made packages of development or non-

participatory types of development. TANU wanted the peasants to be given an opportunity to determine their own course of development, guided by democratic participatory principles. The building up of local political participation institutions became fundamental to the process of rural transformation. TANU was then in search of a development model which would ensure popular local participation.

In the post-independence era, Julius Nyerere and his party, decided to introduce ujamaa as a model of development, a model which was different and distinct from western industrialized societies' model of development. The ujamaa model of development is based on the traditional society's principles of co-operation, respect and human dignity, and sharing. These are the principles which guided the traditional society, an extended family, and enabled members of the family to live and work together for the benefit of all.

The activation of the basic traditional values and principles of life become imperative not only as a means of solving economic problems of the poverty-stricken rural population but also as a way of life.

The peasants, or rural population, became the focus of the implementation of ujamaa. This implied a reorganization of the peasants' pattern of living. Ujamaa villages were created in order to effectively implement ujamaa. Ujamaa is a way of life. The social, cultrual, economic and political activities in ujamaa villages have to be carried out under the principles of ujamaa. The foundation of the ujamaa village is political autonomy, self-determination and self-reliance. The development of "political consciousness" and "civic

consciousness" attitudes among the "wajamaa" is fundamental to the political autonomy and participatory democrary of ujamaa villages.

The role of the government is mainly to provide technical assistance and to encourage and facilitate ujamaa development in the villages.

Tanzania is perhaps one of the few emerging nations which has been able to spell out its societal ideology, goals and objectives that focus on rural transformation. Tanzania has also successfuly réorganized the pattern of living in the rural areas and this process will continue for some time. However, the initial stage of ujamaa development encourtered many problems, some of which have been identified by this study. As far as Tanzania is concerned, these problems are not meant to bring about discouragement or disillusionment, rather they are implementation problems that call for a search for other methods or strategies for effective implementation of ujamaa.

This study has examined four main development problems, namely ideology, the concept of development, organization, and local leadership. As the 1974 operation has revealed, peasants were generally poorly oriented to ujamaa ideology which would commit them to the creation of ujamaa villages and their willingness to live according to ujamaa principles. This situation led to organizational problems in creating new settlements, as noted in Chapter IV. In terms of local leadership development, the local leaders were not oriented to ujamaa ideology and its implications on the political life of ujamaa villages. The ten-cell leaders have been discussed as being most crucial in the implementation of the ujamaa model. These leaders were either poorly

trained or had no training at all.

The importance of systematic ideological orientation, particularly for local leaders, and the process of local leadership development, has also been indicated in Chapter V.

Finally, Tanzania has a great deal to learn from the Chinese experience, particularly in three areas: the success of the Chinese communes can be attributed to moral incentives, politicization and self-reliance in local human resources, and local leadership, which is most crucial.

Conclusion

Ujamaa Model and Community Development

The ujamaa model is not a pragmatic way of solving economic problems. It is a way of life, it is an attitude of mind. It encourages a co-operative spirit, self-determination, self-reliance, and a sense of community. The ujamaa village provides an opporutnity for the peasants to develop social skills which will enable them to live and work together. They also develop constructive attitudes toward communal life, democratic values or political participation.

Political autonomy of a ujamaa village restores the peasants' self-confidence, self-image, and trust in their own abilities. The concern of the ujamaa village is the fate of the 'wajamaa' socially and psychologically. The social relationship is what counts most in life in ujamaa villages, but this does not deny economic progress in ujamaa villages. Economic development is not an end in itself but rather a means to an end of social relations. This relates to the

concept of community development. It is said that community development is concerned with the teaching of basics such as "attitudes, skills to work with people, and competence for living". Community development is involved in human development. It also encourages co-operation, self-reliance, self-determination, "political consciousness" and "civic consciousness" among the people in the community.

The ujamaa model relates to Rothman's model A of community development; locality development. This model encourages people in the community to participate in determining community goals and actions which bring about social, cultural or economic change in the community. In ujamaa villages, popular participation in the decision-making process is emphasized. Local leadership in Rothman's model A of community development is extremely important. This model calls for self-reliance in local human resources in order to articulate and satisfy community needs. The success of ujamaa development will depend largely upon the emergence of local leadership in order to implement initiated goals.

Three of the four Sanders' orientations of community development are related to the ujamaa model. On the other hand in Sanders' first model of community development, process is more relevant to the ujamaa model. Community development as a process emphasizes people's control over "matters of common concern" or, in other words, the people themselves make decisions on matters which affect them directly. This model also emphasizes popular participation in community affairs and self-reliance in the community's physical and human resources. Social relationships are the main concern of this model. All these community elements are extremely important and emphasized in the ujamaa way of

life.

In summary, community development emphasizes the development of social skills, attitudes of self-determination, self-reliance, co-operative spirit, sense of community, popular participation, political and civic consciousness, and local leadership development. Local leadership development is fundamental to community organizations which pools community efforts together in order to maximize the community's resourses for the benefit of all the members of the Community. This is exactly what the ujamaa model is trying to accomplish in ujamaa villages.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on Chapters II and IV.

1. Politicization and democratization of the peasants are extremely important as far as the ujamaa way of living is concerned. Political and civic consciousness should be part and parcel with ujamma development. Peasants should be helped systematically to develop such attitudes.

2. Local leadership development is fundamental to the functioning of the ujamaa village. It is recommended that this takes priority in ujamaa development.

   (a) Leadership training should take place in the village and the focus should be on the ten-cell leaders. This type of training is discussed in Chapter IV.

   (b) The role of the government and party workers (who come from outside the village) should be temporary in the sense that they are in the community to facilitate and encourage the growth of local leadership.

(c) Each district should have a clear policy of local leadership development from which the local leadership development plan is drawn.

(d) It is recommended that a District Research and Training Institute be established for the dissemination of knowledge, local innovations and the carrying out of research on ujamaa activities.

3. It is also recommended that at this initial stage of ujamaa development, the peasants should be provided with constant assistance in organizational matters, particularly in the setting up of the priorities for the village so that the peasants realize the importance and benefits that derive from living together. They should be able to see the differences between their former homesteads and ujamma village life.

4. It is imperative that a crash training program for village government and party workers be initiated.

5. Training of community development officers with special skills in organization and local leadership development is recommended. Such officers should be available to ujamaa villages as consultants.

6. Secondary school graduates who show interest in working in ujamaa villages should be trained in ujamaa villages.

Suggestions for Further Research

1. The process of creating ujamaa villages will continue for a long time. Peasants will have to create such villages voluntarily. Studies of tribal traditions, compatible to ujamaa development are

needed to facilitate the creation of ujamaa villages.

2. Research studies on local human resources is needed in order to provide emphasis on local innovations and self-reliance.

3. Studies on special tribal traditions, customs and beliefs that are deterrants to ujamaa development would be of great help to the government and party functionaries who currently work closely with the peasants. The peasants themselves can benefit from such studies as an educational experience.

4. Why do traditional leaders (whose power and influence was eliminated in 1962 by law) still exert influence on the peasants' beliefs, attitudes, social and political life?

5. In the traditional society the process of decision-making was carried out by concensus and it was democratic. But we don't know exactly how this process was carried out. Research on this topic would provide knowledge which would be useful to the peasants and government workers who work closely with them.

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